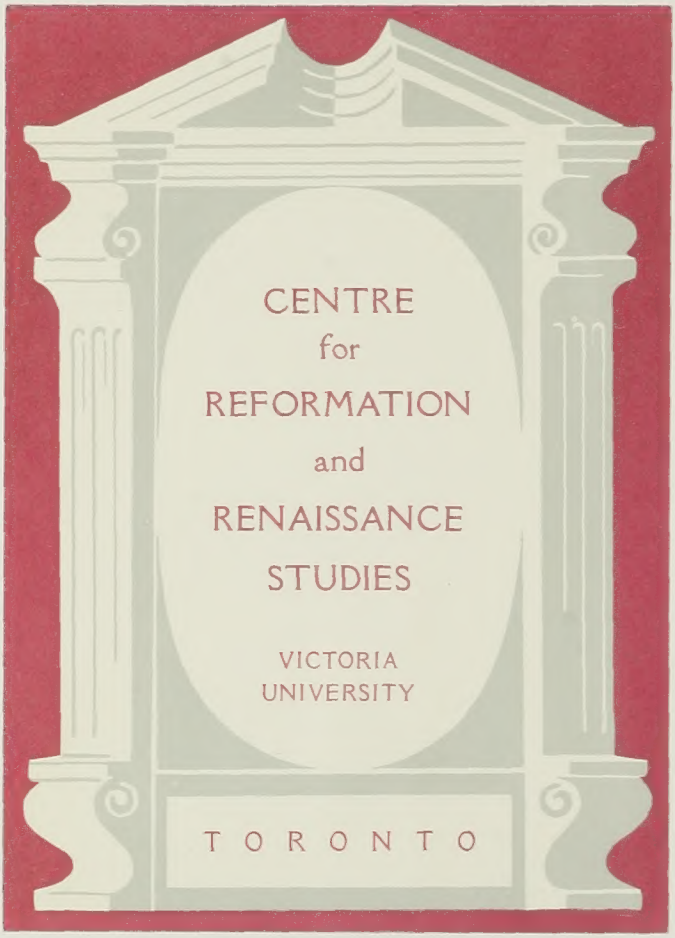

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THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

VOL. XII.

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THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY;

OR, A

COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE, CURIOUS, AND ENTERTAINING

PAMPHLETS AND TRACTS,

AS WELL IN MANUSCRIPT AS IN PRINT,

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THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

THE OLD

FRENCH WAY OF MANAGING TREATIES.

Subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus. HORACE.

SIR,

Since you tell me that you do not well understand French, especially that old dialect, which Comines wrote; and that you are willing to have an account of the treaty which was made betwixt our Edward the Fourth and Lewis the Eleventh of France, by the intervention of some mean fellows; and that you desire likewise to be informed of the intrigues of the great constable of France, who played with all sides, and was the chief trickster of that time; I am willing to oblige you, and am satisfied you will be pleased with the diversity of scenes that the story presents to your view.

THAT treaty, which Comines gives an account of so much to the dishonour of our nation, was first set on foot to publick appearance by an *ordinary fellow*, servant to a gentleman of the French King's houshold, who had not above twenty crowns salary per annum, himself; therefore, I can suppose the servant to have been no more than a footman. This fellow was taken near St. Quintin, by the English, when they marched up to the town in hopes of being received into it without opposition, according to promise by the Count de St. Paul, Great Constable of France, who was the chief trickster of his time, but lost his head for it at last, as you shall hear in its place. The footman being brought before King Edward the Fourth, and the Duke of Burgundy, one of the predecessors to the house of Austria, who was his ally in this war against France, they examined him; after which the King ordered him to be set at liberty, since he was the first prisoner they

had taken in this expedition. As the fellow was going, the Lord Howard and Stanley give him a noble, and bid him in the stile of those times *recommend them to the good grace of the King his master, if he could have access to speak to him.*

The fellow made haste to the French King, who was then at Compiegne, and found access to deliver the message. Lewis XI. took him at first for a spy, because his master's brother was in the service of the Duke of Britany, who was also in alliance with the King of England and Duke of Burgundy, and therefore ordered him to be kept in custody that night. Abundance of people had liberty however to talk with him, and finding him speak with so much assurance, they gave it as their opinion, that the King ought to allow him a further hearing. Next morning betimes the King sent for him, and, after examining him more thoroughly, ordered him still to be kept in custody.

As the King went to dinner, he was full of thoughts about this matter, whether he should send to the King of England or not? And, before he sat down, whispered Comines in the ear, that he remembered the English herald had told him, that, when the King of England landed, he needed not send to him for a pass-port, but might direct any messenger to the said Lords Howard and Stanley. [This mystery you will find unravelled in the course of the story.] The King, having spoke thus, sat down, and ruminating a little, he whispered again to Comines, bid him rise up, and seek for one who was servant to the Lord Halles, and ask him if he durst undertake to go to the English army in the habit of an herald; Comines found out the man, and asked what the King commanded him, but was perfectly amazed when he saw the fellow, for he had neither mein nor behaviour fit for such an undertaking, nor had the King ever spoke to him but once; Comines owns though, that the man had sense, and a very graceful and smooth way of speaking. The servant was so much surprised when Comines spoke to him, that he fell on his knees as if he would have dropped down dead, so that he had much ado to keep him from falling into a swoon, the proposal was so amazing to one in his circumstances. Comines, to encourage him, promised him a post and money, and told him, that he needed not be afraid, *for the motion came from the* English, kept him to dine with him, and instructed him what he should do. In the mean time the King sent for Comines, who gave him an account of the man, and advised him to some others that he thought more proper; the King would not hear of this, but went and talked with the fellow himself, and having animated him by promise of a great reward, he taught him his lesson; but was so hard put to it to rig him out on a sudden, that he was forced to take a banner from one of his trumpets, to make him a herald's coat, and to borrow a badge from a herald belonging to the admiral, for the King had none of his own there, and so mounted him with his habiliments, put up in a fine bag fixed to the bow of his saddle, till he should come to the English camp, which was but eight miles distant. Thus he sent him a-going unknown to any body but Comines, and the Lord Villiers, his master of the horse.

The fellow, according to instructions, came to the English camp, and, putting on his coat of arms, was brought to the King's tent; told

those in waiting, *That he was sent from the King of France to the King of England, and was ordered to address himself to the Lords Howard and Stanley to be introduced.* The King being at dinner, this new vamped herald was carried to another tent, where he had his belly-full of more substantial food than French kick-shaws; and, when the King had dined, the herald was brought before him, and delivered his message thus: "The King of France had of a long time coveted his Majesty's friendship, and that their two realms might live in peace; that, since his master came to the crown, he had never undertaken any war directly against the King, or King of England; and, though he had entertained the Earl of Warwick, it was only against the Duke of Burgundy, and not against him. He likewise said, that the Duke had *invited his Majesty beyond sea, only that he might be able to make the better terms for himself; and that the rest of the allies, who concurred with him, had done it to retrieve their own affairs,* and *to gain their particular ends:* That the winter now drew on; that his master, the King of France, *knew his Majesty had been at great expence, and that there were many in England, both of the nobility and gentry,* &c. *who were eager for war at home, in favour of the pretenders of Lancaster;* but, if the King of England would listen to a treaty, the King his master would do all that was possible on his part, *that both he and his kingdom should have satisfaction,* and that he might be more thoroughly informed of matters. If he would grant a passport for an hundred horsemen, the King of France would send ambassadors to him fully instructed; or, if the King of England had rather that they should meet at a village, half way betwixt both armies, the King of France would readily agree to it, and send passports on his side."

The King of England, and part of his great men, liked these proposals very well, and gave this supposed herald such a passport as he desired, and a present of four nobles; they also sent a herald with him, to get the King of France's passport; and next day there met in a village near Amiens, on the part of the French King, the bastard of Bourbon, the admiral, the Lord St. Peter, and the Bishop of Eureux; on the part of the King of England, my Lord Howard, Mr. Chalanger, Dr. Marten, Chancellor of England, and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thus, Sir, you see the treaty so far advanced by a footman; for I can suppose a gentleman who had only twenty crowns, or 4l. 10s. per annum salary, was not able to keep a servant of a higher station, and a *valet de chambre,* for so we must account of this new vamped herald at best.

I come next to tell you how a nine years truce was concluded betwixt Edward the Fourth and Lewis the Eleventh, notwithstanding all the endeavours used by the Duke of Burgundy and his other allies against it.

The French *valet de chambre* having thus performed his part, he was rewarded with a post and money, and the day after the ambassadors on both sides met; the English (says Comines) demanded, according to custom, the crown of France, or, at least, Normandy and Guienne. They made a vigorous attack, and the French made as brave a defence; however, the very first day of meeting, they began to come within ken

of one another, for both sides were eager for a peace. At last, the demands of the English terminated in 70,000 crowns, to be paid down before they marched off. That Lewis the Eleventh's son should be married to King Edward's daughter, and that the duchy of Guienne should be given to King Edward, or 50,000 crowns paid him annually, in the Tower of London, for nine years; after which, Guienne was to be peaceably enjoyed by the prince and princess above-mentioned. Some other articles there were, relating to trade, &c. which are not worth mentioning; and there was room left for the allies on both sides to come into this treaty, if they pleased. Nay, the King of England was so forward, that he offered to give the French King an account in writing, of several of his own subjects, who were traytors to his crown and dignity.

The French ambassadors having reported these things to Lewis the Eleventh, he was extremely rejoiced, and called a council upon it; at which Comines was present. Some were of opinion that the English dissembled, and that there was fraud couched under the proposals; which proceeded, I suppose, from the extraordinary forwardness that appeared in the English court towards a peace. But the King of France was of another opinion, because of the advanced season, that the English had not one place of retreat in their hands. That there was a misunderstanding betwixt them and the Duke of Burgundy, and that the King knew our Edward the Fourth was wholly given up to his ease and pleasures; and as to the constable of France, though the King knew him to be a trickster, yet he was sure he would deliver up none of the places he had promised to the Duke of Burgundy and the English, because the King, being jealous of him, kept fair with him, and was continually sending messengers, with fine words and large promises, to keep him from doing any mischief. Therefore it was concluded to raise the money demanded by the English with all possible speed, and to borrow it from those that were able to lend; for the King was resolved to be rid of the English at any rate, and rather to hazard all, than to suffer them to get get footing in the kingdom of France, which they were just ready to enter.

Comines, being sensible that this was a very mean submission on the part of the French King, excuses it thus: That he knew what mischiefs the English had formerly done in France, and knowing the danger of his own circumstances from the Duke of Britany, and others, that were ready to raise commotions in the bowels of the kingdom, he wisely chose this part, as the only means left him to disappoint the designs of the Duke of Burgundy, and the other confederates.

The constable of France perceiving the treaty to be near concluded, and being sensible that he had tricked with all sides, he sent his secretary, and one of his gentlemen, to the King, with proposals to break off the treaty. At the same time one of the Duke of Burgundy's gentlemen, who had been taken before Arras, was let go on his parole to procure his ransom, and promised a great sum by the French King, besides being let go ransom-free, if he could bring his master to a peace. He happened to return the very same time when the constable sent his servants to the King of France, who improved the opportunity thus. He put

the Duke of Burgundy's gentleman and Comines, behind a large screen in his own chamber, and called in the constable's secretary and gentleman, that the Duke of Burgundy's servant might hear their proposals, and report them to his master, which he doubted not would have a good effect. The constable's servants began their discourse, and told the French King that their master had sent several times to persuade the Duke of Burgundy to break with the English, and found him so much incensed against the King of England, that he had almost gained him not only to desert them, but to fall upon them as they retired; and, the better to please the King, one of the constable's servants acted the Duke of Burgundy before him, stamped with his foot against the ground, swore by St. George, which was the duke's usual oath, and called the King of England Blayborgne, the bastard of a beef-eater of that name, and all the other reproachful names which he could invent. The French King laughed heartily, and, pretending to be thick of hearing, bid the fellow repeat it, and speak out louder; which he did with a very good grace. The conclusion of their message was, that the constable advised his Majesty to make a truce with the English, to avoid the dangers which otherwise threatened him from the allies, and to grant the King of England a little town or two for winter-quarters, pointing at Eu and St. Valery; and added, That the constable was sure this would please the English; and for his part he would be guarantee they should keep the treaty. The French King having gained his end, which was to let the allies know the constable's knavery, he answered his messengers very civilly, told them he would in a little time let his brother the constable know his mind, for so he thought fit to call him, because he had married a daughter of Savoy, sister to the Queen of France; and then dismiss'd them, after one of them had taken his oath that he would discover every thing that he knew to be transacted against his Majesty's interest. The King had much ado to dissemble his wrath at the constable's proposal to give the English those two towns, because he knew it was made on purpose to excuse himself at their hands for not delivering them St. Quintin, &c. according as he had promised to the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy; but he concealed his displeasure, and sent a civil answer to the constable to keep him in suspense, and prevent his delivering up the towns under his government. When the constable's messengers were gone, the King called the Duke of Burgundy's gentleman (who had much ado to keep his patience when he heard his master so much abused) and Comines, from behind the screen. The King laughed heartily, and was very merry, while the Duke's gentleman was in such a rage, that he could scarce be kept from taking horse immediately to acquaint his master with the constable's treachery. But the King prevailed with him to stay till he wrote down with his own hand what passed; and the King writ to the duke, assuring him of the truth of what his gentleman Seigneur de Contay (for that was his name) had writ. The truce with England was concluded before this, on the terms above-mentioned, and an interview agreed on betwixt the two Kings; after which the King of England, upon receiving his money, was to return to his own country, and to leave the Lord Howard and Mr. Cheyney, who was master of his horse, as hostages behind him.

A private pension of 16,000 crowns per annum was also promised to the King of England's servants. The Lord Hastings had 2000 per annum, the Lord Howard, the master of the horse, Mr. Chalanger, the Lord Montgomery, and others, had the remainder, besides good sums in hand, and presents of plate to others of King Edward's servants.

The Duke of Burgundy, being informed of this negotiation, came from Luxemburg in all haste, attended only by sixteen horse, to the English camp. King Edward was very much surprised at his coming in that manner, and, perceiving by his countenance that he was in a rage, asked him the reason. The Duke told him he came to speak with him, and asked if he had made a peace. The King answered, he had made a truce for nine years, which he prayed him to agree to, since there was room left for him, and the other allies, to enter into it. The Duke upbraided him, as Hollinshed tells us, with this shametul treaty, and that he had not so much as killed a fly, or burnt a sheepcote for his coming to France. That his glorious ancestor, King Edward the Third, behaved himself otherwise, and would never make peace till he conquered France, was made regent of it, and declared heir apparent. That the said victorious prince was as near a-kin to him, the Duke of Burgundy, as the King of England was to King Henry the Fifth, whose blood he charged him with having destroyed; and told him, that 'he had agreed to a peace not worth a pease-cod.' That he did not invite him beyond sea, for any need he had of him, since he was able to revenge his own quarrel, but only to give him an opportunity to recover what had been unjustly taken from him; and, to let the King of England see that he did not value his assistance, he scorned to enter into his truce, or to make any league with the French King till three months after King Edward was returned home; and, throwing down his chair in a rage, would have been gone. But the King stopped him, and answering his reproaches with others, for which I refer to Hollinshed; the Duke left him in a fury. Some of the King of England's council, who were against the peace, approved very much of what the Duke of Burgundy had said.

I return now to the tricking constable. He, being afraid of the consequences of this treaty, sent his confessor, as Comines and Hollinshed agree, with a letter to King Edward, praying him, for God's sake, not to believe the French King, who would break his promise as soon as the King of England was returned; and, rather than he should conclude a peace for want of money, he would lend him fifty-thousand crowns. Therefore he advised him to take Eu and St. Valery for winter-quarters, and, before two months were over, he promised that he would take care his quarters should be enlarged. King Edward answered, he had already agreed with the French King, and so left the constable in despair.

I come next to the interview between the Kings of England and France, and the circumstances which preceded it. The King of England, to ratify this peace, came with his army within half a league of Amiens, but they marched in such disorder, says Comines, as shewed they did not understand discipline. The French King viewed them from the gate of the town, and, though they were very numerous, he might easily have defeated them, had he thought it for his purpose; but

his design was to treat them nobly, and to make peace with them at any rate, in order to dissolve the alliance. He sent the King of England three-hundred waggon load of the best wine he could get, which, with their convoy, made as great a shew as the English army; and, besides this, he ordered two very large tables to be placed at the entrance of the gate, with all sorts of provisions that would make them drink, and at each table there was the strongest wine in France, with six or seven French men of quality, of the fattest and largest that were in the kingdom, to entertain and please the English, who loved jolly companions and good cheer. The English came in great numbers, with their horse and arms to the town, without observing any order; and as soon as they approached the gate, there were Frenchmen who took them by the bridle, and, pleasantly asking them to run at the lance with them, brought them to the tables, where they made them eat and drink *en passant*, and told them they might go into the town, and call for what they would, but should pay for nothing. This pleased them mightily, and thus they were treated for three or four days successively. They came in such numbers, that the Lord de Forcy and Comines told the French King, it was dangerous to have so many enemies in the town, for they were at least nine-thousand. Upon which Comines was ordered to mount on horse-back, and to speak to the English captains about it, for the King would seem to take no notice of it himself. Comines did so, but, for one that the captains sent back, there were twenty came in their places; so that the King sent Comines again with a mareschal of France, to view their posture in the town, where they found most of them drinking, or asleep in the publick houses, and reported it to the King; who, though he thought there was no great danger, from men who observed so little order, commanded troops to be privately armed, placed some of them at the gate, and came himself to the porter's lodge, where he invited the chief of the English to dine with him. The King of England, being informed of these disorders, was ashamed of it, and sent to the French King to suffer no more of them to enter the town; to which Lewis the Eleventh answered, that he would never do so, but if the King of England pleased, he might send his own guards to keep the gates, and to let none in but whom they thought fit. This was accordingly done, and the town cleared of the English.

To put an end to those disorders, the place of interview was agreed on, by gentlemen deputed on both sides. A wooden bridge was made on purpose over the Soame, with an apartment for the two Kings in the middle, and a barrier betwixt them. Comines observes, that the road by which the King of England came to the bridge was a straight causeway, with a dangerous morass on both sides, whereas the French King had the country open on his side; from whence that author remarks, that 'the English are nothing so subtle as the French, and go very awkwardly about treaties; but, being cholerick, those that deal with them must have patience, and not give them hard words.' I shall not insist upon the further particulars, but the interview was made. The French King came first to the barrier, and, leaning against it, the King of England came up, took off his black velvet cap, adorned with a great flower-de-luce set in jewels, and kneeled to the French King, who returned

him a very low bow, and said to him, 'Cousin, you are very welcome. There's no man in the world I desired to see so much as yourself; and, thank God, that we are met here in so friendly a manner.' The King of England, who spoke French well, made a suitable return in that language; and then the Bishop of Ely, who was chancellor of England, began his speech with a prophecy, (for the English are never without one, says Comines) the import of which was, 'that Merlin had foretold there should be a remarkable peace concluded between England and France at that place.' After this, the articles were read and sworn on both sides. Then the French King said smilingly to King Edward, that 'he must come to Paris, and feast with the ladies, and he would give him the Cardinal de Bourbon for confessor, who would readily pardon him, if he happened to commit any slip.' King Edward laughed, for he knew the Cardinal was a boon companion. Some farther discourse of this nature having passed, the French King ordered his own courtiers to retire, for he would speak with the King of England alone. The English courtiers retired, says Comines, at the same time, without expecting their King's orders; and when those princes had spoke a while together, the French King called for Comines, presented him to the King of England, and asked his Majesty if he did not know him? King Edward owned that he did, and remembered the services he had formerly done him at Calais. The French King asked King Edward what he would advise him to do, if the Duke of Burgundy, who had so haughtily rejected the treaty, continued in that mind? King Edward answered, he would offer it him once more, and, if he did not comply, they would consult about it. Then the French King asked him the same question, about the Duke of Britany. To which King Edward replied, that he desired his Majesty not to make war upon him, since he had been his chief friend, when he was forced to retire from England. Upon this they parted after very fine compliments, the French King to Amiens, and King Edward to his army. The Duke of Gloucester, the King of England's brother, and several others, who did not like this peace, would not assist at the conference; but they were induced to wait upon the French King afterwards, who presented them with plate and fine horses nobly accoutred. On the road to Amiens, the French King told Comines, that he did not like King Edward's being so willing to come to Paris, for he was a handsome prince, and loved women, so that he was afraid, if he came thither, he might find some lady that would tempt him to return again; that his predecessors had been too often in Paris and Normandy, and that he did not care for their company on that side the sea, though he loved to have them his friends in England. He was likewise displeased that he would not abandon the Duke of Britany, but urged it no further, lest he should have provoked him. When the French King returned to Amiens, three or four Englishmen of quality, who had promoted the treaty, came and supped with him, during which, the Lord Howard whispered him in the ear, that, if his Majesty pleased, he believed he could prevail with the King of England to come and make merry with him at Amiens, if not at Paris. The French King received the message with a pleasant countenance, but put it off by saying, that he must make haste to observe the Duke of Burgundy. The next

day after the treaty, abundance of English came to Amiens, and said, that the peace was made by the Holy Ghost, because a white pigeon perched upon the King of England's tent during the interview, and would not move from it, notwithstanding all the noise made by the soldiers. But the truth of the matter, says Comines, was told him by one of King Edward's own servants, viz. that there had been a great rain, and after that the sun shined out very hot, and the pigeon lighted upon the King's tent, which was the highest, to dry itself. The same gentleman, who was a Gascoign, told Comines privately, that 'he perceived the French Court made nothing but a jest of the King of England.' Comines asked how many battles that Prince had won? The Gascoign answered, he had gained nine in person. Comines asked further, how many he had lost? The gentleman answered, none but this, meaning the treaty, by which he said, he lost more honour, than he had gained by all the nine battles. Comines told this to the King of France, who thereupon said, the Gascoign was a cursed son of a whore, and that Comines must take care what he said to him. He afterwards sent him to invite that gentleman to dinner, which he accepted; and the King offered him very great rewards, if he would take service under him, which the gentleman refused; but the King told him, he would take care of his brothers that were in Gascoign, made him a present of a thousand crowns, and Comines whispered him in the ear, that he should be well rewarded, if he would use his interest to entertain a good correspondence betwixt the two Kings.

Lewis XI. resolved to take great care after this to say nothing that might give the English ground to think that he laughed at them; yet, the very next day, when there were none but Comines and three or four more about him, he could not forbear laughing at the wine and other presents which he had sent to the English army; but turning about, he saw a Gascoign merchant in the room, who lived in England, and was come to beg leave to carry over some wine custom-free. The King was vexed, when he saw him, asked him who he was, and what estate he had; and, understanding that he had no great matter, he gave him a post in Bourdeaux, granted him his demand, and presented him with a thousand franks, on condition that he should send for his family from England, and go no more there himself.

Comines gives another instance of the King's care to avoid giving any offence to the English. A gentleman of our nation, seeing part of the Duke of Burgundy's guards, who came with his ambassadors to treat with the King after he had been deserted by the English, said to Comines, 'Had we known that the Duke of Burgundy was so well provided with troops, we should not so readily have agreed to a peace.' The Lord of Narbonne replied, 'Were ye such fools as not to know that? Ye only say so now, but six-hundred pipes of wine and a pension from our King has sent you all a packing again to England.' The English gentleman broke out into a rage, and said, 'He perceived it now to be true what he had often been told, that the French made their games at the English; but, by St. George,' says he, what your King gave us is not a pension but a tribute.' Upon which Comines interposed, broke off the dis-

course, turned it into a jest, and told the King of it, who sharply rebuked the Lord of Narbonne.

I return again to the tricking constable, who finding, that he had intirely disobliged the Duke of Burgundy, and the King of England, sent one of his chief servants to beg of the King, not to believe all the ill that was said of him; and, to assure his Majesty of his fidelity, he offered to prevail with the Duke of Burgundy to fall upon the English in their retreat. The message was delivered to Comines, and he reported it to the King, who, in the presence of the Lord Howard and the Duke of Burgundy's gentleman that had formerly overheard the constable's treacherous proposals, delivered a letter to the constable's servant, and told him, *That he was taken up about affairs of great concernment, and stood in need of such an head as his master's.* The poor man thought it a very friendly answer; but, when he was gone, the King turned about to the gentleman above mentioned, and said merrily, *I did not intend to have the constable's body, for his head is all I want.* At the same time the King of England sent Lewis XI. two of the constable's private letters, with an account of all that he had said and done against him; so that those three princes conspired to take off this trickster's head, which certainly he very well deserved, though it was below the character of the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy to become evidence against him.

It is time now to wind up the story in as few words as I can. Comines tells us, that the King of England did not engage cordially in this war, for, before he came from Dover, he began to treat with the French King; and that he brought his army over to France for the two following reasons: First, 'because his people were eager for a war against France, and the Duke of Burgundy pressed him to it. Secondly, That he might save most of the money which had been granted him by the parliament for that war; and, the better to impose upon his subjects, he brought with him twelve of the principal commons of England, who had been the most zealous for the war, and contributed chiefly to raise the money for maintaining it.' The King lodged them in good tents; but being corpulent men, and not accustomed to the fatigues of war, they hoped the King would soon have ended the matter by a battle. His Majesty, who never intended it, 'filled their heads with doubts and fears as to the issue of a battle, and managed matters so well, that he brought them to approve the peace, and engaged them to help in suppressing the murmurs of his subjects upon his return; for there never was a greater and better appointed army sent from England to France.' But King Edward was not of a complexion to endure such fatigues as the conquest of that kingdom would have required; besides he was mighty earnest for a match betwixt the dauphin, afterwards Charles VIII, and his own daughter, which made him dissemble many things that afterwards turned to the French King's advantage.

All the English being returned home, except the hostages, the treaty betwixt the French King and the Duke of Burgundy was brought to bear by M. de Contay, that duke's gentleman formerly mentioned, and the King carried the English hostages to Vervins, where the treaty was finished. The King of England being informed of the negotiations, and

enraged that the Duke of Burgundy would not agree to this truce, sent Sir Thomas Montgomery, one of his favourites, to the King of France, to pray him that he would make no other treaty with the duke than he had done with him, and particularly that he would not yield up St. Quintins. He proffered at the same time, if the King had a mind to continue the war, that he would join him, next year, in person against the duke, provided the French King would pay half his army, and give him an equivalent for the customs of wool at Calais, which was about fifty-thousand crowns per annum. Lewis XI. thanked the King for his proffer, and told Sir Thomas, the treaty was already concluded; that it was only for nine years, but the duke would have a particular treaty for himself; and thus making the best excuses he could, he made Sir Thomas a rich present of plate, and sent the English hostages home with him. Thus Lewis XI. thought himself well rid of the English, and did not care to see them any more on that side the sea, lest they should have renewed their treaty with the Duke of Burgundy.

This prince was at last ruined by the intrigues of Lewis XI, who stirred up enemies against him on every side; and after his death he seized the Duchy of Burgundy, besides several places in Flanders. The King of England was the only prince capable to put a stop to Lewis XIth's career, and the heiress of Burgundy sent ambassadors to intreat his assistance, which the parliament came heartily into, and represented to King Edward the French King's perfidiousness, and his breach of the above-mentioned treaty, in not concluding the match betwixt the Dauphin and his daughter. But King Edward being *a heavy unweildy man*, and wholly addicted to his pleasures, he had no regard to their remonstrances; besides, the pension of fifty-thousand crowns, paid him every year, was a bait for his avarice. And *when he was obliged to send ambassadors with sharp messages, to please his subjects, the French King always treated them well, took them off by rich presents, and gained time, by pretending that he would speedily send ambassadors with full instructions to give their master satisfaction: and at other times he proposed to share the Netherlands with him.* But his chief trust was in the great number of pensioners he had in England, whom Comines names as follows: The lord chancellor, the master of the rolls, the Lord Hastings, who was great chamberlain, and in mighty favour with his master; Sir Thomas Montgomery, the Lord Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk; the master of the horse, Mr. Chalanger, and the marquis, son to the Queen of England, by a former marriage. To all these he gave great gifts besides their pensions, and particularly to the lord chamberlain, Hastings, a thousand marks of plate at once; and the acquittances of all those pensioners were to be seen in the French King's chamber of accounts, says Comines, except those of the Lord Hastings, who had formerly been a pensioner to the Duke of Burgundy, by Comines's interest; who, knowing his weak side, advised Lewis XI. to purchase him in the same manner, for he was at that time a great enemy to France, and mightily pressed King Edward to assist the heiress of Burgundy; but Lewis XI. bought him off, by doubling his pension. He sent it him by Mr. Cleret, master of his own houshold, and ordered him to take an acquittance for it, as he did from the lord chancellor,

the lord high-admiral, the master of the horse, and others, and as he had formerly done from the preceding lord chamberlain. But when he came to the Lord Hastings, and delivered him his message with the pension, that lord refused him an acquittance. The French gentleman insisted on it, and said, that his master might otherwise think he had cheated him, and not delivered the money. The Lord Hastings replied, That what he said was very just, but, since the money came by the King's free will, and not at his desire, he must put it into his sleeve without witness or acquittance; for it should never be said, that the great chamberlain of England was a pensioner of France, or that his acquittance should be found in the French King's chamber of accounts. Cleret was forced to comply, and, though Lewis XI. was angry at first when he told him the story, he ever after esteemed the Lord Hastings more than any of his other English pensioners, and ordered his money to be paid him, without demanding any more acquittances.

Thus, Sir, you have an account of this dishonourable treaty, how England was tricked by the French King's perfidiousness and cunning, how our allies were abused and ruined, how the exorbitant power of France was founded, though England was in a capacity to have prevented it; and how our country and parliaments were imposed upon, to the perpetual dishonour of the nation, by the French King and his pensioners.

THE NATURAL HISTORY

OF

COFFEE, THEE, CHOCOLATE, AND TOBACCO,

In four several Sections;

With a Tract of Elder and Juniper-Berries, shewing how useful they may be in our Coffee-Houses: And, also, the Way of making Mum, with some Remarks upon that Liquor. Collected from the Writings of the best Physicians, and Modern Travellers.

[From a Quarto, containing thirty-nine Pages, printed at London, for Christopher Wilkinson, at the Black Boy, over against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street, 1682.]

The Natural History of Coffee.

SECT. I.

COFFEE is said to be a sort of Arabian bean, called bon, or ban, in the Eastern Countries; the drink made of it is named coava, or chaube, over all the Turkish dominions. Prosper Alpi-

nus * (who lived several years in Ægypt) assures us, that he saw the tree itself, which he compares to our spindle tree, or prick-wood, only the leaves were a little thicker, and harder, besides continually green †. This tree is found in the desarts of Arabia, in some parts of Persia and India, the seed, or berry, of which is called by the inhabitants buncho, bon, and ban, which being dried, and boiled with water, is the most universal drink, in all the Turkish, and several Eastern Countries, where wine is publickly forbid; it has been the most antient drink of the Arabians, and some ‡ will have the *jus nigrum Spartanorum*, i. e. *The black broth of the Spartans*, to have been the same with our coffee. The Persians at this day do tipple as much coffee off, as the Turks themselves. Tavernier‖ in his description of Ispahan (the metropolis of Persia) is very jocose and merry, when he comes to describe the famous coffee-house of that city; he says, that the wise Sha Abas, observing great numbers of Persians to resort to that house daily, and to quarrel very much about state-affairs, appointed a moullah to be there every day betimes to entertain the tobacco-whiffers, and coffee-quaffers, with a point of law, history, or poetry; after which, the moullah rises up, and makes proclamation, that every man must retire, and to his business; upon which they all observe the moullah, who is always liberally entertained by the company. Olearius does also speak § of the great diversions, made in the coffee-houses of Persia, by their poets, and historians, who are seated in a high chair, from whence they make speeches, and tell satyrical stories, playing in the mean time with a little stick, and the same gestures, as our jugglers, and legerdemain-men, do in England.

As for the qualities and nature of coffee, our own countryman, Dr. Willis, has published a very rational account **, whose great reputation and authority are of no small force; he says, that in several head-achs, dizziness, lethargies, and catarrhs, where there is a gross habit of body, and a cold heavy constitution, there coffee may be proper, and successful; and in these cases he sent his patients to the coffe-house, rather than to the apothecary's shop; but where the temperament is hot, and lean, and active, there coffee may not be very agreeable; because it may dispose the body to inquietudes, and leanness. The doctor makes one unlucky observation of this drink, which I am afraid will cow our citizens from ever meddling with it hereafter, that it often makes men paralytick, and does so slacken their strings, as they become unfit for the sports and exercises of the bed, and their wives recreations; to confirm which, I will quote here two precedents, out of the most learned Olearius, who says, †† that the Persians are of an opinion that coffee allays their natural heat, for which reason they drink it, that they may avoid the charge and inconveniences of many children; nay, the Persians are so far from dissembling the fear they have thereof, that some of

* Alpinus de Plant. Ægyptiac. p. 26. † This tree is now very common in gentlemen's green-houses in the south of England; and Ebenezer Mussel, esq. of Bethnal-green, near London, has two of the largest and healthiest, perchance, in the nation. ‡ Dr. Mundy de Potulentis, p. 351. ‖ Tavernier's Tavels, p. 1. § Olearius's Ambassadors Travels of Persia, book 6. p. 224. ** Dr. Wills Pharmaceut. Rat. p. 1. †† Olearius's Ambassadors Travels through Persia, book 6.

them have come to the Holstein physician of that ambassy, for remedies to prevent the multiplication of children; but the doctor, being a merry, bold German, answered the Persians, that he had rather help them to get children, than to prevent them. This most famous Olearius (that made so many curious and accurate observations in his travels) tells us of a Persian King, named Sultan Mahomet Caswin, who reigned in Persia before Tamerlane's time, that was so accustomed to drinking of cahwa, or coffee, that he had an unconceivable aversion to women, and that the Queen, standing one day at her chamber window, and perceiving they were about gelding a horse, asked some standers-by, why they treated so handsome a creature in that manner; whereupon answer was made her, that he was too fiery and mettlesome, therefore they resolved to deprive him of his generative faculty. The Queen replied, That trouble might have been spared, since cahwa, or coffee, would have wrought the same effect, the experiment being already tried upon the King her husband. This King left a son, called Mahomet, after him, as our most grave and faithful traveller * does assure us, who, being come to the crown, commanded that great poet, Hakim Fardausi, to present him with some verses, for every one of which, the sophy promised him a ducat; the poet, in a short time, made sixty thousand, which, at this day, are accounted the best that ever were made in Persia, and Hakim Fardausi esteemed the Poet Laureat of the East. The treasurers, thinking it too great a sum for a poet, would have put him off with half; whereupon, Fardausi made other verses, wherein he reproached the King with avarice, and told him, he could not be of royal extraction, but must be rather descended from a shoemaker, or a baker. Mahomet, being nettled, made complaint to the Queen his mother, who, suspecting that the poet had discovered her amours, ingenuously confessed to the King her son, that, his father being impotent, through his excessive drinking of cahwa, or coffee, she fancied a baker belonging to the court, and said, if it had not been for the baker, the young King had never been what he was; so, lest the business should take wind, the poet got his full reward. But let us return a little into our old serious road.

Coffee is said to be very good for those, that have taken too much drink, meat, or fruit, as the learned Schroder † will inform you; as also against shortness of breath, and rheum; and it is very famous in old obstructions, so that all the Egyptian, and Arabian women, are observed to promote their monthly courses with coffee, and to tipple constantly of it, all the time they are flowing; for which we have the undoubted authority of Prosper Alpinus ‡, who spent several years amongst them. It is found to ease the running scorbutick gout, or rheumatism, as Mollenbroccius has affirmed ||.

As for the manner of preparing coffee, it is so easy, and so commonly known, that we need not mention it; only we may observe, that some of the Asiatick nations make their coffee of the coat, or husk of the berry, which they look upon to be much stronger, and more efficacious, than

* Idem ibid. p. 240. † Schroder's Append. p. 24. ‡ Prosp. Alpinus, de Med. Ægypter. l. 4. de Plant. Ægyptiac. ap. 118. ad. p. 122. || Mollenbrock, de Arthrit. baga scorbut. p. 114.

the berry itself, so that they take a less quantity of it; but the Europeans do peel and take off the outward skin of the berries, which, being so prepared, are baked, burnt, and afterwards ground to powder; one ounce of which they mix commonly with a pint and a half of hot water, which has been boiled half away; then they are digested together, till they are well united.

The Laplanders * prepare a very good drink out of juniper-berries, which some prefer before either coffee, or thee †, of which berries, we will discourse in a tract at the end of these sheets.

The Natural History of Thee, or Tea.

SECT. II.

THIS herb, thee, is commonly found in China, Japan, and some other Indian Countries; the Chinese call it thee, the Japonians, tchia: That of Japan is esteemed much the best, one pound of it being commonly sold for one-hundred pounds, as Tulpius informs ‡ us from several great men, that have been ambassadors and residents in those parts; so that most of the thee, which is brought into Europe, comes from China, and that too of the worst kind, which cannot but decay in so long a voyage; for the Dutch have been observed to dry a great quantity of sage, whose leaves, being rolled up like thee, were carried into China by them, under the name of a most rare European herb; for one pound of this dried sage, the Dutch received three pounds of thee from the Chinese, as Thevenot informs || us. There is a great controversy amongst the herbalists, to what classis this thee may be reduced. Bontius § compares it to the leaves of our wild daisy; for which Simon Pauli is very angry with him **, and gives very strong arguments, that thee is the leaves of a sort of myrtle, for, out of the leaves of myrtle, a liquor may be made, resembling thee in all qualities; therefore, the Jesuit Trigautius is of opinion ††, that several of our European forests and woods do abound with a true thee, it being observed to grow in great plenty in Tartary (which lies under the same climate with many countries of Europe) from whence, some learned men think, it came originally, for it has not been long known to the Chinese ‡‡, they having no ancient name, or hieroglyphick characters for thee, and cha being an ancient Tartarian word. Besides, it is known to several merchants, that a great quantity of thee is brought yearly out of Tartary into Persia; and we are all acquainted with the several great conquests ||| which the Tartars have made in China, so that the Chinese have had several opportunities of learning the use of thee from the Tartars, in whose country it is observed to be in great plenty, and of little value; yet the inhabitants of China and Japan have a great esteem and opinion

* History of Lapland. † Or tea. ‡ Nicol. Tulpii Observat. Med. lib. 4. c. 60. || Oldenburg's Philos. Transact. N. 14. § Bontius de Medicina Indor. lib. 2. p. 97. ** Simon Pauli, de Thee, p. 19, 20. †† Trigautius, de Regno Chinæ, lib. 3. ‡‡ Simon Pauli, de Thee, p. 25. ||| Olearius's Ambassadors Travels in Persia, p. 241.

of it, where they are as much employed, and concerned for their harvest of thee (which is in spring) as the Europeans are for their vintage, as several jesuits inform us in their observations of China.* For the noblemen, and princes of China and Japan, drink thee at all hours of the day; and, in their visits, it is their whole entertainment, the greatest persons of quality boiling and preparing the thee themselves, every palace and house being furnished with convenient rooms, furnaces, vessels, pots, and spoons, for that purpose; which they value at a higher rate than we do diamonds, gems, and pearls, as Tulpius † assures us, from the relations of several great Dutchmen, who travelled China in the quality of ambassadors, and made great observations of those rich stones, and woods, out of which the aforesaid materials were made.

As for the qualities and vertues of thee, these few following observations may give satisfaction. That it makes us active and lively, and drives off sleep, every drinker of it cannot but be sensible. The great jesuit, Alexander de Rhodes, always cured himself of a periodical pain of his head by thee ‡, and having often occasion to sit up whole nights in China, to take the confessions of dying people, he found the great benefit of thee in those great watchings, so that he was always as vigorous and fresh the next day, as though he had rested all night; nay, he says, that he sat up six nights together, by the assistance of thee. Kircher himself took notice of thee for clearing the head and opening the urinary passage ||; and it was observed by those concerned in the Dutch ambassy to China, that the Chinese did spit very little, and were seldom subject to the stone and gout, which their physicians imputed to their frequent drinking of thee §. It is a common proverb in Japan:

Illene sanus non sit? Bibit de optima Tsia?

"What is he not well? He drinks of the best thee**."

I know some that celebrate good thee for preventing drunkenness, taking it before they go to the tavern, and use it also very much after a debauch, thee being found so friendly to their stomachs and heads. Several ambassadors find the advantage of it in preserving them from the accidents and inconveniences of a bad foreign air; but that, which gives the greatest commendation to thee, is the good character which our famous countryman, Mr. Boyle, gives of it in his Experimental Philosophy††, where he says, that it deserves those great praises which are commonly bestowed upon it. Yet Simon Pauli exclaims ‡‡ against the use of thee, as a great drier, and promoter of old age, and as a thing unnatural, and foreign to the European complexions. But Schroder ||| answers Pauli very mildly, supposing him to speak only of the abuse and extravagant management of thee; for otherwise rhubarb, china, sassafras, and saunders should be banished from our shops, by the same reason,

* Philos. Transact. N. 49. † Nicol. Tulpii Observat. Med. lib. 4. c. 60. ‡ Alexander de Rhodes Voyages et Missiones Apostoliques. || Kircheri China illustrata, lib. 4. § Thevenot. Histor. Legat. Batavor. in China, Tom. 3. Philosoph. Transact. N. 14. ** Varenius Descript. Regni Japon. c. 23. p. 161. †† Boyle's Exper. Philosoph. p. 94. ‡‡ Simon Pauli de Thee, p. 67. ||| Schroderi Append. ad Pharmacop. p. 28.

they being driers, and foreign to us Englishmen; therefore, we may conclude thee innocent and beneficial.

The Chinese gather the leaves in the spring, one by one, and, immediately, put them to warm in an iron kettle over the fire; then, laying them on a fine light mat, roll them together with their hands. The leaves, thus rolled, are again hanged over the fire, and then rolled closer together, till they are dry; then put up carefully in tin vessels, to preserve them from moisture. Thus they prepare the best leaves, that yield the greatest rates; but the common ordinary ones are only dried in the sun, yet in the shade is, doubtless, much better (as the ingenious author* of Vinetum Britannicum does well observe) the sun having a great power to attract the vertue out of any vegetable after its separation from its nourisher, the earth. One spoonful of this prepared thee is enough for one quart of boiled water.

There are several ways and methods for preparing thee†. The Japonians powder the plant upon a stone, and so put it into hot water. The Chinese boil the leaves with water and a little sugar. Some Europeans make tinctures, infusions, conserves, and extracts of thee. The Tartars are observed to boil their thee in milk with a little salt, which way they think is the very best.‡

The inhabitants of Carolina prepare a liquor out of the leaves of an American tree, which is very like thee, and equal to it in every respect. Dr. Mundy observes‖ that the inhabitants of Florida have an old custom, before they go into the field to war, of drinking a liquor in a great publick assembly, which he that vomits up, is judged unfit for that warlike expedition, and is condemned to stay at home in disgrace; but, when he has learnt to carry off the liquor, then he is admitted to be a lawful soldier. Now thee itself, when given in a large dose, and in a strong decoction, does often prove vomitive, as I myself have observed several times.

Some make decoctions of the roots of Avens, Galanga, Coriander, Anniseeds, Sarsa, China, Saunders, of the leaves of Sage, Betony, Rosemary, which they do extol above Thee or Coffee.

The Natural History of Chocolate.

SECT. III.

HAVING given a short natural history of two things, which are so universally used in the eastern parts of the world, we now come to treat briefly of two more, which are generally used in the western. First, of chocolate, of which the cocoa, or cacaw-nut, being the principal ingredient, a short account of it cannot be improper. This nut, or rather the seed, or kernel of the

* Vinet. Britan. p. 140. † Nicol. Tulpii Observat. Med. Lib. 4. c. 60. ‡ Thevenot. Histor. Legat. Belgic. ad Sinensium Regem. ‖ Dr. Mundy de Potulentis, p. 353.

nut, as Mr. Hughes observes *, is of the bigness of a great almond; in some of these fruits there are a dozen, in some twenty, in other thirty, or more of these kernels, or cocoa's, which are well described by the ingenious and learned Dr. Grew †. When these kernels are cured, they become blackish, and are compared to a bullock's kidney, cut into partitions; there is great variety in them, by reason of the difference of soils and climates where they grow. The tree is said to be as large as our English plum-trees, the leaves sharp pointed, compared by some travellers to the leaves of chesnut; by the curious Piso to the leaves of an orange ‡; the flower of a saffron colour, upon the appearance of which the fruit appears upon the branches as apples; this tree grows in several parts of America, as in Nicaragua, New Spain, Mexico, Cuba, and in Jamaica, especially at Colonel Barrington's quarters, or plantations ||; they prosper best in low, moist, and fat ground, and are as squarely and orderly set, as the cherry-trees in Kent or Worcestershire; they commonly bear within seven years, and then twice every year; the first crop between January and February, the other between May and June. The inhabitants have so great a value for them, that they secure them with the shades of plantain and bonona-trees, against the injuries of their fiery sun, and do use the kernels instead of money, both in their traffick, and rewards; as the great jesuit, Josephus Acosta, observed, when he was sent into America §. The Indians look upon their chocolate as the greatest delicacy for extraordinary entertainments. Montezuma is said to have treated Cortez and his soldiers with it; and you can scarce read an American traveller, but he will often tell you of the magnificent collations of chocolate, that the Indians offered him in his passage and journies through their country; as Mr. Gage (who travelled many years in America,) informs us, the Spaniards do constantly drink chocolate in their churches at Mexico and Chiapa, of which they, being once forbid, did mutiny, and commit great outrages, till their custom was restored them **. The Indians and Christians, in the American plantations have been observed to live several months upon cocoa-nuts alone, made into a paste with sugar, and so dissolved in water; I myself have eat great quantities of these kernels raw, without the least inconvenience; and have heard that Mr. Boyle and Dr. Stubbs have let down into their stomachs some pounds of them raw without any molestation; the stomach seems rather to be satisfied than cloyed with them, which is an argument they are soon dissolved and digested. The Spaniards do not scruple to eat them upon their great fast-days.

The Indians at first made their chocolate of the nut alone without any addition, unless sometimes pepper, and maiz, or Indian wheat; and in Jamaica at this day, as Mr. Hughes observes ††, there is a sort of chocolate, made up only of the paste of the cocoa itself; and this he esteems to be one of the best sorts of chocolate. Dr. Stubbs ‡‡, who was a great master of the chocolate art, did not approve of many ingredients be-

* Hughes's American Physician, p. 115. † Dr. Grew Mus. Reg. Soc. Angl. p. 204.
‡ Piso in Histor. Nat. Indiæ utriusque. || Hughes's American Physician, p. 112. § Jos Acosta Indor. Histor. Lib. 4. c. 22. ** Gage's Survey of the West-Indies, Chap. of Chocolate.
†† Hughes's American Physician, p. 11. ‡‡ Dr. Stubbs's Indian Nectar.

sides the cocoa-nuts; that chocolate, which the Doctor prepared for his Majesty, had double the quantity of the cocoa kernel to the other ingredients. In the common sort, the cocoa nuts may take up half the composition, according to Piso *; in the worst, a third part only. As to the other ingredients for making up chocolate, they may be varied according to the constitutions of those that are to drink it; in cold constitutions Jamaica pepper, cinnamon, nutmegs, cloves, &c. may be mixed with the cocoa-nut; some add musk, ambergrease, citron, lemon-peels, and odoriferous aromatick oils. In hot consumptive tempers you may mix almonds, pistacho's, &c. sometimes china, sarsa, and saunders; and sometimes steel and rhuburb may be added for young green ladies. Mr. Hughes gives us very good advice †, in telling us, that we may buy the best chocolate of seamen and merchants, who bring it over ready made from the West-Indies. His reason is none of the worst, which is this: Let the cocoa kernels be never so well cured in the West-Indies, and stowed never so carefully in the ship, yet, by their long transportation, and by the various airs of climates, they are often spoiled, their natural oiliness tending much to putrefaction; from whence I have heard several complain in England, that their chocolate, made up here, does often prove musty, and will settle much to the bottom of the dish; which is a certain sign, says the learned Dr. Stubbs‡, that the nuts are either faulty, or not well beaten and made up. The best cocoa-nuts are said to come from Carraca, or Nicaragua, out of which Dr. Stubbs prepared chocolate for the King; yet the Doctor commends the cocoa-nuts of Jamaica, which were first planted there by the Spaniards. That you may know how to prepare your chocolate, I will give you a short direction, if you intend to make it up yourself; consult your own constitution and circumstances, and vary the ingredients according to the premises, for I cannot give a receipt to make up the mass of chocolate, which will be agreeable and proper to all complexions; yet, in the composition of it, you must remember to appoint the cocoa kernel for the fundamental and principal ingredient. As for the managing the cocoa-nut, Dr. Stubbs ||, and Mr. Hughes §, have published most excellent instructions, how you must peel, dry, beat, and scarce it very carefully, before you beat it up into a mass with other simples. As for the great quantity of sugar which is commonly put in, it may destroy the native and genuine temper of the chocolate, sugar being such a corrosive salt, and such an hypocritical enemy to the body. Simon Pauli **, (a learned Dane) thinks sugar to be one cause of our English consumptions; and Dr. Willis †† blames it as one cause of our universal scurvies; therefore, when chocolate produces any ill effects, they may be often imputed to the great superfluity of its sugar, which often fills up half its composition. For preparing the drink of chocolate you may observe the following measures: Take of the mass of chocolate, cut into small pieces, one ounce; of milk and water well boiled together, of each half a pint; one yolk of an egg well beaten; mix them together, let them boil but

* Piso Nat. Histor. Indor. † Hughes's American Physician, p. 111. ‡ Dr. Stubbs's Indian Nectar. || Id. ib. § Mr. Hughes's American Physician. ** Simon Pauli Quadripart. Botan. †† Dr. Willis de Scorbuto.

gently, till all is dissolved, stirring them often together with your mollinet, or chocolate-mill; afterwards pour it into your dishes, and into every dish put one spoonful of sack.

As for the vertues and effects of the cocoa-nut, or chocolate, all * the American travellers have written such panegyricks, and so many experimental observations, that I should but degrade this royal liquor, if I should offer at any. Yet, I think, two or three remarks upon it cannot be unsuitable to this little history; several of these curious travellers and physicians do agree in this, that the cocoa nut has a wonderful faculty of quenching thirst, allaying hectick heats, of nourishing and fattening the body. Mr. Gage acquaints us †, that he drank chocolate in the Indies, two or three times every day, for twelve years together, and he scarce knew what any disease was in all that time, he growing very fat. Some object it is too oily and gross, but then the bitterness of the nut makes amends, carrying the other off by strengthening of the bowels. Mr. Hughes informs ‡ us, that he lived, at sea, for some months on nothing but chocolate, yet neither his strength nor flesh were diminished; he says, our English seamen are very greedy of it, when they come into any Indian ports, and soon get plump countenances by the use of it. Mr. Hughes himself grew very fat in Jamaica, by vertue of the cocoa nut; so he judges it most proper for lean, weak, and consumptive complexions; it may be proper for some breeding women, and those persons that are hypochondriacal and melancholy. The industrious Dr. Mundy gives a notable example of the effect of chocolate; he || says, that he knew a man in a desperate consumption, who took a great fancy for chocolate; and his wife, out of complaisance drank it often with him; the consequence was this, the husband recovered his health, and his wife was afterwards brought to bed of three sons at one birth.

The great use of chocolate in venery, and for supplying the testicles with a balsam, or a sap, is so ingeniously made out by one of our learned countrymen already, that I dare not presume to add any thing after to so accomplished a pen; though I am of opinion, that I might treat of the subject without any immodesty, or offence. Gerson, the grave Roman casuist, has writ *de Pollutione Nocturna*, and some have defended fornication in the popish nunneries; hysterical fits, hypochondriacal melancholy, love-passions, consumptive pinings away, and spermatical fevers, being instances of the necessity hereof, natural instinct pointing out the cure. We cannot but admire the great prudence of Moses, who severely prohibited that there should be no whore among the daughters of Israel, yet that most wise legislator took great care for their timely marriage; upon these very accounts the Casuists defend the protestant clergy in their marriages. And Adam is commanded in paradise to increase and multiply, therefore I hope this little excursion is pardonable, being so adequate to this treatise of chocolate; which, if Rachel had known, she would not have purchased Mandrakes for Jacob. If the amorous and martial Turk should ever taste it, he

* Joh. de Laet. Histor. Indor. Piso Nat. Histor. Indor. Herbar. Mexican. Benzonus Histor. Indor. Occident, &c. † Gage's Survey of the West Indies, chap. of Chocolate. ‡ Hughes's American Physician, p. 147. || Dr. Mundy de Potulentis, p. 350.

would despise his opium. If the Grecians and Arabians had ever tried it, they would have thrown away their wake-robins and their cuckow-pintles; and I do not doubt but you London gentlemen, do value it above all your cullisses and jellies; your anchovies, Bononia sausages, your cock and lamb-stones, your soys, your ketchups and caveares, your cantharides, and your whites of eggs, are not to be compared to our rude Indian; therefore you must be very courteous and favourable to this little pamphlet, which tells you most faithful observations.

The industrious author * of the *Vinetum Britannicum* makes a query, Whether the kernel of the walnut may not supply the defect of the cocoa, if well ground? Dr. Grew thinks †, that for those that drink chocolate, at coffee-houses, without any medicinal respect, there is no doubt, but that almonds finely beaten, and mixed with a due proportion of spices, and sugar, may be made as pleasant a drink as the best chocolate.

The Natural History of Tobacco.

SECT. IV.

TOBACCO is reckoned by the best herbalists to be a species, or sort of henbane, proper to the American regions, as Dodonæus and Simon Pauli ‡; yet some botanists will have it a native of Europe, and reduce it to several of our classes. But I will not trouble you with this controversy, only we may take notice, that Thevet did first bring the seed of tobacco in France, though Nicot the French ambassador in Portugal (from whom it is called Nicotiana) was the first that sent the plant itself into his own country. Hernandes de Toledo, who travelled America, by the command of Philip the Second, having supplied Spain and Portugal with it before ||. Sir Francis Drake got the seed in Virginia, and was the first that brought it into England §; yet some give Sir Walter Rawleigh the honour of it; since which time it has thriven very well in our English soil; a great quantity of it grows yearly in several gardens about Westminster, and in other parts of Middlesex. It is planted in great plenty in Gloucester, Devonshire, and some other western countries; his Majesty sending every year, a troop of horse to destroy it, lest the trade of our American plantations should be incommoded thereby. Yet many of the London apothecaries make use of English tobacco in their shops, notwithstanding the vulgar opinion that this herb is a native of America, and foreign to Europe. Yet Libavius assures us, that it grows naturally in the famous Hercynian Forest of Germany. If this was true, we would no longer call it tobacco from the island of Tobago. The names of it are so various, as they would glut the most hungry reader. The Americans stile it picielt; in Nova Francia, petum; in Hispaniola, cozobba; in Virginia, uppuvoc; at

* Vinet. Britan. p. 139. † Dr. Grew's Mus. Reg. Soc. p. 205. ‡ Dodonæus Herbal. Simon Pauli Quadripart Botan. & Lib. de Tobacco. || Hernandez Histor. American. § Purchas's Voyages into America.

Rome, herba sancta crucis; in some parts of Italy, herba medicea; in France, herba reginæ, as you may read in Magnenus and Neander *: But, let it be of what name or kind it will, I am confident, that it is of the poisonous sort, for it intoxicates, inflames, vomits, and purges; which operations are common to poisonous plants, as to poppies, night-shades, hemlocks, monks-hood, spurges, and hellebores, that will produce the like effects. Besides, every one knows, that the oil of tobacco is one of the greatest poisons in nature; a few drops of it, falling upon the tongue of a cat, will immediately throw her into convulsions, under which she will die. This Dr. Willis assures † us to be true; the experiment succeeded, when it was tried before the royal society, as the learned Dr. Grew has affirm d ‡; besides, I can speak it upon my own certain knowledge, having killed several animals with a few drops of this oil. Yet that most sagacious Italian, Francisco Redi, observes || very well, that the oil of tobacco kills not all animals, neither does it dispatch those, it kills, in the same space of time; there is a great difference between the tobacco of Brasil, and that of St. Christophers, as to this effect. Varino and Brasil tobacco being almost of the same quality and operation; whereas that of St. Christophers, Terra Nova, Nieve, and St. Martin, has very different effects.

If we run over those countries, where tobacco is made use of, we may observe the various manners of using it. Some Americans will mix it with a powder of shells, to chew it, salivating all the time, which, they fancy, does refresh them in their journies and labours; others in New Spain will dawb the ends of reeds with the gum, or juice of tobacco, and, setting them on fire, will suck the smoke to the other end. The Virginians were observed to have pipes of clay before ever the English came there §; and, from those barbarians, we Europeans have borrowed our mode and fashion of smoaking. The Moors and Turks have no great kindness for tobacco; yet, when they do smoak, their pipes are very long, made of reeds, or wood, with an earthen head. The Irishmen do most commonly powder their tobacco **, and snuff it up their nostrils, which some of our Englishmen do, and often chew and swallow it. I know some persons, that do eat every day some ounces of tobacco, without any sensible alteration; from whence we may learn, that use and custom will tame and naturalise the most fierce and rugged poison, so that it will become civil and friendly to the body. We read of a French ambassador ††, that, being in England, was so indisposed, that he could never sleep; upon which he would often devour whole ounces of opium without being concerned. And the Turks are often observed to swallow great lumps of it, a tenth part of which would kill those that were not accustomed to opiates. I know a woman in this city, that, being used to take both the hellebores, will often swallow whole scruples of them without the least motion, or operation; so that custom and conversation will make the fiercest creature familiar.

* Magnenus de Tobacco. Neander Tabacalog. † Dr. Willis Pharm. Rat. ‡ Dr. Grew's Mus. Reg. Soc. p. 352. || Philos. Trans. Oldenburgh N. 92. § Purchas's Voyages to America. ** Observe the original of that nauseous and unwholesome custom of taking snuff. †† Ephem. German. an. 2.

As for the culture, harvest, preparation, and traffick of tobacco, I will recommend you to Neander, where, if you are curious, you may meet with satisfaction*. I cannot omit one story out of Monardus †, who tells us, that the Indian priests, being always consulted about the events of war, do burn the leaves of tobacco, and, sucking into their mouths the smoke by a reed, or pipe, do presently fall into a trance, or extasy; and, as soon as ever they come out of it, they discover to the Indians all the secret negotiation, which they have had with the great dæmon, always delivering some ambiguous answer.

As for the qualities, nature, and uses of tobacco, they may be very considerable in several cases and circumstances; though King James himself has both writ, and disputed very smartly against it at Oxford, and Simon Pauli ‡ has published a very learned book against it. Some anatomists || tell us most terrible stories of sooty brains, and black lungs, which have been seen in the dissections of dead bodies, which, when living, had been accustomed to tobacco. We read that Amurath the Fourth did forbid the use of it, over all the Turkish dominions, under the most severe penalties; the Turks having an opinion amongst them, that tobacco will make them effeminate and barren, unfit for war and procreation; though some think there is a politick design in it, to obstruct the sale of it, in the eastern countries, and to prevent the Christians from establishing any considerable traffick, from so mean a commodity; which, perhaps, may be one reason §, why the great Duke ** of Muscovy has threatened to punish those merchants, who offer to sell any tobacco in his countries. Seach Abas, (the great Sophy of Persia) leading an army against the Cham of Tartary, made proclamation, that, if any tobacco was found in the custody of any soldier, he should be burnt alive, together with his tobacco. Yet, for all this, it may be very beneficial to mankind, as you will conclude from what follows.

Dr. Willis †† recommends tobacco to soldiers, because it may supply the want of victuals, and make them insensible of the dangers, fatigues, and hardships, which do usually attend wars and armies; besides, it is found to cure mangy and ulcerous diseases, which are frequent in camps. I know a curious lady in the north, that does very great feats in sores and ulcers by a preparation of tobacco. Our learned and most experienced countryman, Mr. Boyle ‡‡, does highly commend tobacco clysters in the most violent cholick pains, which are often epidemical in cities and camps. The renowned Hartman extols the water of tobacco, against agues |||: And the curious Dr. Grew §§ found the success of the oil of it, in the tooth-ach, a lint being dipped in it, and put into the tooth. The effects of tobacco have been very good, in some violent pains of the head; as some thousands have experimented. As for the daily smoaking of it, the state and circumstances of your body must be the best guide and rule; if your complexion be lean, hot, and dry, it is an argument against it, but if cold, moist, and humoral, subject to catarrhs, rheums, and pains, then there may be a temptation to venture upon

* Neander Tabacalog. † Monardus Lib. X. Exoticor. Cluffi. ‡ Simon Pauli de Abusu Tabaci. || Diemerbrock. Anat. Hoffman. Pauvius. § Olearius, Ambassadors Travels through Muscovy. ** Or, Czar. †† Dr. Willis Pharm. Rat. ‡‡ Boyle's Experimental Philosophy. ||| Hartman prax. Chym. §§ Dr. Grew Mus. Reg. Soc. p. 222.

it. So every man must consult his own temper, and the experience of others.

A modern French author* has writ a peculiar tract of tobacco, wherein he commends it in convulsions, in pains, and for bringing on sleep; he extols the oil of it in curing deafness, being injected into the ear in a convenient vehicle; also against gouty and scorbutical pains of the joints, being applied in a liniment. A lixivium of tobacco often prevents the falling off of the hair, and is famous for curing the farcy, or leprosy of cattle.

The use of juniper and elder-berries in our publick-houses.

THESE two berries are so celebrated in many countries, and so highly recommended to the world by several famous writers, and practitioners, that they need not desire any varnish or argument from me. The simple decoctions of them, sweetened with a little fine sugar-candy, will afford liquors so pleasant to the eye, so grateful to the palate, and so beneficial to the body, that I cannot but wonder, after all these charms, they have not as yet been courted, and ushered into our publick-houses. If they should once appear on the stage, I am confident, that both the Whig and Tory would agree about them far better than they have done about the medal and mushroom; nay the very Cynick and Stoick himself would fall in love with the beauty and extraordinary vertues of these berries, which are so common, and cheap, that they may be purchased for little or nothing. One ounce of the berry, well cleansed, bruised, and mashed, will be enough for almost a pint of water; when they are boiled together, the vessel must be carefully stopped; after the boiling is over, one spoonful of sugar-candy may be put in.

The juniper-tree grows wild upon many hills in Surry and Oxfordshire, and upon Juniper-hill, near Hildersham in Cambridgeshire; besides, in several other parts of England. The berries are most commonly gathered about August. The astrological botanists advise us to pull them, when the sun is in Virgo.

The juniper-berry is of so great reputation in the northern nations, that they use it, as we do coffee and thee, especially the Laplanders, who do almost adore it. Simon Pauli, a learned Dane, assures us, that these berries have performed wonders in the stone, which he did not learn from books, or common fame, but from his own observation and experience; for he produces two very notable examples, that, being tormented with the stone, did find incredible success in the use of these berries; and, if my memory does not fail me, I have heard our most ingenious and famous Dr. Troutbeck commend a medicine prepared of them in this distemper. Besides, Schroder knew a nobleman of Germany, that freed himself from the intolerable symptoms of the stone by the constant use of these berries. Ask any physician about them, and he will bestow upon them a much finer character than my rude pencil can draw. The learned Mr. Evelyn will tell you what great kindnesses he has done to his poor sick neighbours, with a preparation of juniper-

* Journal des Scavans, An. 1681.

berries, who is pleased to honour them with the title of the Forester's Panacæa; he extols them in the wind cholick, and many other distempers. Do but consult Bauhinus and Schroder, the first being the most exact herbal, the other the most faithful and elaborate dispensatory, that ever has been published: and you will find great commendation of these berries in dropsies, gravel, coughs, consumptions, gout, stoppage of the monthly courses, epilepsies, palsies, and lethargies, in which there are often an ill appetite, bad digestions, and obstructions.

Take one spoonful of the spirit of juniper-berries, four grains of the salt of juniper, and three drops of the oil of juniper-berries well rectified: mix them all together, drink them morning and night in a glass of white-wine, and you will have no contemptible medicine in all the afore-mentioned diseases.

Now it is probable, that you have both the spirit, salt, and oil of this berry in a simple decoction of it, provided it be carefully and skilfully managed. If this will not satisfy, do but read Benjamin Scarffius, and John Michael, who have published in Germany two several books of the juniper, and you may meet with far more persuasive arguments, than I can pretend to offer you.

The elder-tree grows almost every where, but it most delights in hedges, orchards, and other shady places, or on the moist banks of rivulets and ditches, into which it is thrust by the gardeners, lest, by its luxury and importunate increase yearly, it should possess all their ground. We write here of the domestick, common elder, not of the mountain, the water, or dwarf elders, ours in figure is like the ash; the leaves resemble those of a walnut-tree, but less; in the top of the branches, and twigs, there spring sweet and crisped umbels, swelling with white odoriferous flowers (in June before St. John's eve) which by their fall give place to a many-branched grapes, first-green, then ruddy, last of a black, dark purple colour, succulent and tumid with its winish liquor. Of all the wild plants it is first covered with leaves, and last uncloathed of them. It flourishes in May, June, and July, but the berries are not ripe till August.

As for the qualities and vertues of elder-berries, I need say no more, but that Mr. Ray has given a great encomium of them; our learned Dr. Needham commending them in dropsies, and some fevers; and I have been informed, that the ingenious Dr. Croon has extolled a spirit of elder-berries in an epidemical intermitting fever. Schroder says, they do peculiarly respect some diseases, attributed to the womb. Mr. Evelyn is so bountiful to his poor Forester, as to assure him, that if he could but learn the medicinal properties of the elder-tree, he might fetch a remedy from every hedge, either for sickness or wounds. The same curious gentleman takes notice, how prevalent these berries are in scorbutick distempers, and for the prolongation of life (so famous is the story of Neander.) I have heard some praise them in bloody fluxes, and other diseases of the bowels; also in several distempers of the head, as the falling-sickness, megrims, palsies, lethargies; they are said likewise to promote the monthly inundations of women, and to destroy the heat of an erysipelas, for which, the flowers themselves are highly celebrated by Simon Pauli, who experimented them upon himself with

wonderful success. I could produce several cases out of the best physical writers, as Forestus, Riverius, Rulandus, &c. where these berries have acted their parts, even to admiration; but, if you are curious and inquisitive after the qualities and nature of them, I will recommend a learned German, Martyn Blochwitz, to your reading, where you may entertain yourself with great variety. Yet I have one thing still to take notice of, that the same medicine may be prepared out of the spirit, oil, and salt of this berry, that you have been taught before to make out of the juniper-berry; but you may obtain them all in a simple decoction, if it be well managed.

You have read here the great use of these two berries, that are more universally agreeable to all tempers, palates, and cases, than perhaps any other two simple medicines, which are commonly known amongst us; so that several persons, being under ill habits of body, and upon the frontiers of some lingering diseases, cannot but desire to drink them, when they have occasion to resort to publick-houses. Yet, for all this, my poor advice will certainly meet with that fate, which does attend almost every thing in the world, that is, *Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis:* but it dreads most of all the Turky and East-India merchant, who will condemn it in defence of their coffee and thee, which have the honour of coming from the Levant and China. Besides, I am afraid of a lash, or a frown, from some young ladies, and little sparks, who scorn to eat, drink, or wear any thing, that comes not from France, or the Indies; they fancy poor England is not capable of bringing forth any commodity, that can be agreeable to their grandeur and gallantry, as though nature, and God Almighty, had cursed this island with the productions of such things, as are every way unsuitable to the complexions and necessities of the inhabitants; so we cannot but repartee upon these *a-la-mode* persons, that, while they worship so much only foreign creatures, they cannot but be wholly ignorant of those at home. His excellency, the most acute and ingenious ambassador from the Emperor of Fez and Morocco (who now resides amongst us) is reported to have advised his attendants to see every thing, but admire nothing, lest they should seem thereby to disparage their own country, and shew themselves ignorant of the great rarities and wonders of Barbary.

Poor contemptible berries, fly hence to Smyrna, Bantam, or Mexico; then the merchants would work through storms and tempests, through fire and water, to purchase you, and, on your arrival here would proclaim your vertues in all publick assemblies; so true is that common saying, *A prophet is never valued in his own country.* The English soil is certainly influenced by some pestilential star, that blasts the credit of its productions.

The Way of making Mum, with some Remarks upon that Liquor.

IN the first place, I will give some instructions how to make mum, as it is recorded in the house of Brunswick, and was sent, from thence, to General Monk.

To make a vessel of sixty-three gallons, the water must be first boiled to the consumption of a third part; let it then be brewed, according to art, with seven bushels of wheat-malt, one bushel of oat-malt, and one bushel of ground beans; and, when it is tunned, let not the hogshead be too much filled at first. When it begins to work, put to it of the inner rind of the fir, three pounds; of the tops of fir and birch, of each one pound; of carduus benedictus dried, three handfuls; flowers of rosa solis, two handfuls; of burnet, betony, marjoram, avens, penny-royal, flowers of elder, wild thyme, of each one handful and an half; seeds of cardamum bruised, three ounces; bay-berries bruised one ounce; put the seeds into the vessel. When the liquor hath wrought a while with the herbs, and after they are added, let the liquor work over the vessel as little as may be, fill it up at last, and, when it is stopped, put into the hogshead ten new-laid eggs, the shells not cracked or broken; stop all close, and drink it at two years old; if carried by water it is better. Dr. Ægidius Hoffman added water-cresses, brook-lime, and wild parsley, of each six handfuls, with six handfuls of horse-radish rasped in every hogshead; it was observed that the horse-radish made the mum drink more quick than that which had none.

By the composition of mum, we may guess at the qualities and properties of it. You find great quantities of the rind, and tops of fir, in it; therefore if the mum-makers at London are so careful and honest, as to prepare this liquor, after the Brunswick fashion, which is the genuine and original way; it cannot but be very powerful against the breeding of stones, and against all scorbutick distempers. When the Swedes carried on a war against the Muscovites, the scurvy did so domineer among them, that their army did languish and moulder away to nothing, till, once incamping near a great number of fir-trees, they began to boil the tops of them in their drink, which recovered the army, even to a miracle; from whence the Swedes call the fir, the scorbutick tree, to this very day. Our most renowned Dr. Walter Needham has observed the great success of these tops of fir in the scurvy, as Mr. Ray informs us; which is no great wonder, if we consider the balsam or turpentine (with which this tree abounds) which proves so effectual in preserving even dead bodies themselves from putrefaction and corruption. If my memory does not deceive me, I have heard Mr. Boyle (the ornament and glory of our English nation) affirm, that the oil of turpentine preserves bodies from putrefaction much better than the spirit of wine. The fir, being a principal ingredient of this liquor, is so celebrated by some modern writers, that it alone may be sufficient to advance the mum trade among us. Simon Pauli (a learned Dane) tells us the great exploits of the tops of this tree in freeing a great man of Germany from an inveterate scurvy. Every physician will inform you, how proper they are against the breeding of gravel and stones; but then we must be so exact, as to pull these tops in their proper season, when they abound most with turpentine and balsamick parts, and then they may make the mum a proper liquor in gonorrhœa's. Besides, the eggs may improve its faculty that way; yet I will not conceal what, I think, the learned Dr. Merret affirms in his observations upon wines, that those liquors,

into which the shavings of fir are put, may be apt to create pains in the head; but still it is to be confessed, that the fir cannot but contribute much to the vigour and preservation of the drink.

By the variety of its malt, and by the ground beans, we may conclude, that mum is a very hearty and strengthening liquor. Some drink it much, because it has no hops, which, they fancy, do spoil our English ales and beers, ushering in infections; nay, plagues amongst us. Tho. Bartholine exclaims so fiercely against hops, that he advises us to mix any thing with our drink, rather than them; he recommends sage, tamarisks, tops of pine, or fir, instead of hops, the daily use of which in our English liquors is said to have been one cause, why the stone is grown such a common disease among us Englishmen. Yet, Captain Graunt, in his curious observations upon the bills of mortality, observes, that fewer are afflicted with the stone in this present age, than there were in the age before, though far more hops have been used in this city of late than ever.

As for eggs in the composition of mum, they may contribute much to prevent its growing sowre, their shells sweetening vinegar, and destroying acids; for which reason they may be proper in restoring some decayed liquors, if put whole into the vessel. Dr. Stubbs, in some curious observations made in his voyage to Jamaica, assures us, that eggs, put whole into the vessel, wil preserve many drinks, even to admiration, in long voyages; the shells and whites will be devoured and lost, but the yolks left untouched.

Dr. Willis prescribes mum in several chronical distempers, as scurvies, dropsies, and some sort of consumptions. The Germans, especially the inhabitants of Saxony, have so great a veneration for this liquor, that they fancy their bodies can never decay, or pine away, as long as they are lined and embalmed with so powerful a preserver; and indeed, if we consider the frame and complexions of the Germans in general, they may appear to be living mummies. But to conclude all in a few words; if this drink, called mum, be exactly made according to the foregoing instructions, it must needs be a most excellent alterative medicine: the ingredients of it being very rare and choice simples, there being scarce any one disease in nature against which some of them are not prevalent, as betony, marjoram, thyme, in diseases of the head; birch, burnet, water-cresses, brook-lime, horse-radish, in the most inveterate scurvies, gravels, coughs, consumptions, and all obstructions. Avens and cardamom-seeds for cold weak stomachs. Carduus benedictus, and elder-flowers, in intermitting fevers. Bay-berries and penny-royal, in distempers attributed to the womb. But it is to be feared, that several of our Londoners are not so honest and curious, as to prepare their mum faithfully and truly; if they do, they are so happy as to furnish and stock their country with one of the most useful liquors under the sun, it being so proper and effectual in several lingering distempers, where there is a depravation and weakness of the blood and bowels.

There still remains behind a strong and general objection, that may, perhaps, fall upon this little puny pamphlet, and crush it all to pieces,

that is, the histories are too short, and imperfect; to which I have only this to answer,

Ars longa, vita brevis,

A perfect natural history of the least thing in the world, cannot be the work of one man, or scarce of one age; for it requires the heads, hands, studies, and observations of many, well compared and digested together; therefore this is rather an essay, or topick, for men to reason upon, when they meet together in publick-houses, and to encourage them to follow the example of Adam, who, in the state of innocence, did contemplate of all the creatures that were round about him in Paradise, but after the fall, and the building of a city, the philosopher turned politician.

POSTCRIPT.

LIQUORS and drinks are of such general use and esteem, in all the habitable parts of the world, that a word or two concerning them cannot be improper or unwelcome.

First, the saps and juices of trees will afford many pleasant and useful liquors. The Africans and Indians prepare their famous palm-wine (which they call sura or toddy) out of the sap of the wounded palm tree, as we do our birch-wine in England, out of the tears of the pierced birch-tree, which is celebrated in the stone and scurvy. So the sycamore and walnut, being wounded, will weep out their juices, which may be fermented into liquors. In the Molucca's, the inhabitants extract a wine out of a tree called laudan.

Fruits and berries yield many noble and necessary liquors. Every nation abounds with various drinks by the diversity of their fruits and vegetables. England with cyder, perry, cherry, currant, gooseberry, raspberry, mulberry, blackberry, and strawberry wine. France, Spain, Italy, Hungary, and Germany, produce great varieties of wines from the different species and natures of their grapes and soils. In Jamaica and Brasil they make a very delicious wine out of a fruit called ananas, which is like a pine-apple, not inferior to Malvasia wine. The Chinese make curious drinks out of their fruits; so do the Brasilians and Southern Americans; as from their cocoa, acajou, pacobi, unni, or murtilla's. We may note here, that all the juices of herbs, fruits, seeds, and roots will work and ferment themselves into intoxicating liquors, out of which spirits and brandies may be extracted. Most nations under the sun have their drunken liquors and compounds; the Turk his maslack, the Persians their bangue, the Indians their tulo, rum, arack, and punch. The Arabians, Turks, Chinese, Tartars, and other eastern countries do make inebriating liquors out of their corn and rice; some, rather than not be drunk, will swallow opium, dutroy, and tobacco, or some other intoxicating thing, so great an inclination has mankind to be exalted. Pliny complains, that drunkenness was the study of his time, and that the Romans and Parthians

contended for the glory of excessive wine-drinking. Historians tell us of one Novellius Torquatus, who went through all the honourable degrees of dignity in Rome, wherein the greatest glory and honour, he obtained, was for the drinking, in the presence of Tiberius, three gallons of wine at one draught, before ever he drew his breath, and without being any ways concerned. Athenæus says, that Melanthius wished his own neck as long as a crane's, that he might be the longer a tasting the pleasure of drinks; yet, what he reports of Lasyrtes is wonderful, that he never drank any thing, tho', notwithstanding, he urined as others do. The same famous author takes notice, that the great drinkers used to eat coleworts, to prevent drunkenness; neither are some men of our days much inferior to those celebrated antients. The Germans commonly drink whole tankards, and ell-glasses, at a draught, adoring him that drinks fairly and most, and hating him that will not pledge them. The Dutchmen will salute their guests with a pail and a dish, making hogsheads of their bellies. The Polander thinks him the bravest fellow that drinks most healths, and carries his liquor best, being of opinion, that there is as much valour in drinking as fighting. The Russians, Swedes, and Danes have so naturalised brandy, aqua vitæ, beer, mum, &c. that they usually drink our Englishmen to death, so that the most ingenious author of the Vinetum Britannicum concludes, that temperance (relatively speaking) is the cardinal virtue of the English.

It is very wonderful what Mr. Ligon and other American travellers relate of the cassava-root, how out of it the Americans do generally make their bread, and common drink, called parranow; yet that root is known to be a great poison, if taken raw; their drink, called mobby, is made of potatoes. But we will conclude all with Virgil, who, speaking of the many liquors in his time, says,

Sed neque quam multæ species, nec nomina quæ sunt,
Est numerus.

A DESCENT FROM FRANCE:

OR,

The French Invasion of England, considered and discoursed.

[From half a sheet, folio, printed at London, 1692.]

THAT there is, or at least has been, an intended invasion from France, headed by King James, is too apparent; and that the greatest encouragement to such an undertaking must be the expected,

if not promised succours ready to join him upon the descent, is as plainly evident. Now that there can be such a party of Englishmen, and those professing themselves protestants too (for the Romanists are no part of our wonder,) whose reason and sense can be so lost and depraved, as to conspire with such a design, is not a little stupendious.

The business of this paper, therefore, is to examine, what consequences they can expect, from the success of such an invasion; and what patriots they shall make themselves, in assisting the return of King James?

In the first place, do they flatter themselves, because, forsooth, the greatest part of our invaders, for the more plausible pretext, are composed of English, Scotch, and Irish, natives and subjects to the crown of England, that therefore King James's service (so poor a mask) is all the business of this expedition? Have we forgot since so lately, in Ireland, the French King could hardly hold the vizor on till the conquest of that kingdom, where the very Irish themselves began to be jealous (and with too much cause) of their pretended friends, but intended lords, the French? And that no *Angus in Herbâ*, no French reserve, lies at the bottom of this invasion.

Secondly, Do they think this succour to King James, though in so important a service as resettling him upon his throne, can deserve any grateful return; and upon that encouragement they found the safety of their religion and liberties, in any promises of security from that obligation? Alas! is it so late since woful experience convinced them, that acknowledgment or gratitude are no part of a popish King's principle; witness the unkind return he made to that very church of England, that, more than once, were so exemplarily zealous for securing the crown upon his head, in their strenuous opposition against both the Bill of Exclusion, and Monmouth's Insurrection. And if both those deserving services, those accumulated obligations, were such feeble cobweb-lawn; shall any thing, done in his service now, make a stronger tie upon him? No, quite to the contrary. For example, the church of England had then twice obliged him, and never once offended him. Besides, there was not only a coronation oath, but his first voluntary declaration, at his assumption of the government, one would reasonably think enough to bind him to performance. But how little all those bonds signify, when the cancelling hand of Rome came into play; we have but too much reason to remember. And if all those ties, I say, could not hold then; what can we hope for, when there neither is, nor can be any tie at all to hold him now? For example, suppose the blind and mistaken frenzy of some of our protestant zealots (if that name can be proper for them) could remount him to his throne; what shall they deserve for it, any more than the title of unprofitable servants? Their turning him out from the throne, together with the remembrance of the dear Irish blood shed by them, and the rest of our faults, are such capital transgressions, that the restoring him into it again will not be half our expiation. And supposing he publishes the most mollifying declaration upon his landing, that all the eloquence of Rome can put together; shall that oblige him? No, so far from it, that it neither is, nor can

be any more than a scroll of waste paper. For supposing the contents of it should run in these flattering insinuations, viz. What wonderous clemency he would shew us upon our return to our allegiance, and with what moderation he would reign over us, upon our re-admitting of him to his throne, with all the most solemn protestations, and what not. Now as it is unlikely, that King James should ever return without opposition, and undoubtedly a very strenuous one; it being impossible we should be all drawn in, with the specious bait of sweet words, and fair promises; and consequently, he must have a blow for it. Supposing, nevertheless, I say, his party so strong, and his success so great, as to recover his kingdoms: Upon such a recovery, whatever he promises, in his declaration, is, from that moment, null and void. For the consideration is not performed, and consequently, the obligation cancelled. For instance, he comes not in by our submission, and return to our allegiance, but by force and conquest. And as such, not only his declarations, but his very coronation-oath, without the stretch of a mental reservation, are all actually absolved. And if law, nor oaths, service, nor fidelity, as above-mentioned, were able to keep his Romish zeal in any bounds or limits before; what shall the loosening of them all expect now? And consequently what driving Jehu must we look for, when that black day comes (which heaven of its mercy keep far from us.) And whatever private gratuities or favours some particular eminent protestants hands may possibly receive for their signal services in this revolution, nothing of sense, but must conclude us the miserablest nation and people in the world.

Besides, could we look for miracles, and expect a reign of clemency from him, our religion and civil rights secured, what a crew of Irish dear-joys, that come over with him, are here to be rewarded, all preferment and honours, nay, the fat of the land to be cantoned out amongst them. And consequently the power in these confiding hands, the whole nobility, gentry, and commonalty of England must live under the check and awe of tories and rapparees, and submit to all the insults of miscreants and vagrants; and well we compound so cheap.

Nay, though some people fancy we shall at least enjoy this blessing of being eased from taxes by his return; it is so much a mistake, that, in the other extream, that very shadow vanishes too. For what must this expedition cost the French King, and what must all his Irish arrears, and other infinite unaccountable sums, amount to, which must all lie upon this ruined nation to satisfy, with a very courteous compliment into the bargain, if the French King will graciously and mercifully please to demand no more. Nay, perhaps, the whole charge of his several years naval preparation; (for had King James continued on his throne, most of all that expence had been saved) must lie at our door, a score too terrible, even to think of; and, take it altogether, a very grateful payment out of the protestant pockets, to so prodigious a champion of the protestant religion, as King Lewis.

But for once (though contrary to common sense) granting we should allow all in his favour, that the most zealous Jacobite can pretend, viz. That King James, upon his return to the throne, shall to a tittle perform every particular article in his very declaration, as plausible soever as

it may be penned, viz. We will suppose, that the French King shall disclaim, directly or indirectly, all pretensions whatever to England; that the restoration of his friend King James is his only part and design in this expedition; and King James, on the other side, shall abjure all manner of violation to the laws, shall support the protestant religion, and (making a sea-mark of his former wreck) shall peaceably keep up to the full observance of so generous a profession; granting all this, I say, and whatever other imaginary security, his dreaming party can form to themselves; nevertheless, in the fairest face, let us observe the dismal and tremendous effects of his restoration. It is known to the whole world to what the French ambition tends, viz. universal monarchy. And it is as notoriously famous, what desolations and ravages the arms of France have made, and how formidable that successful destroyer is, even to the whole united powers of Europe. And as his present Majesty King William is, possibly (without vanity) the leading champion of the whole confederacy, and all little enough to make head against France; upon King James's return to the throne, here is not only so potent an arm as the alliance of Britain lopped off from the confederacy, but added to the strength of France. For though, in his reign before, he only stood neuter, with little, or no other assistance, to his idolised grand Lewis, than his heartiest vows and prayers for the success and prosperity of that incroaching enslaver of mankind. Yet now he will lie under a more pressing obligation; and the least return even of common gratitude, for his remounting him on his throne, will be to list under that tyrant's standard, and joining the arms of England, to the finishing and crowning the whole designs of that universal aspirer. And as the whole confederacy, already, is little enough to match him; upon this revolution in England, it is impossible to expect less than that the whole cause of Christendom must sink, and all Europe truckle beneath him. And whilst the English hands bear so great a part in this fatal turn (to give it no harder name) what is it but a making ourselves the monsters of mankind, the inevitable instruments and tools to that grand cut-throat of Christendom? And what has some little palliation on his side, as having the pretence of renown and honour, in the quest of laurels and enlargement of empire, &c. will on our part amount only to butchery and desolation, for meer butchery and desolation's sake. The glory, if any, will be Lewis's, and the infamy England's. Infamy indeed (if we meet with no worse reward) when we consider what a barbarous part we must act in the yoking and shackling of Europe. But suppose it ends there, and that will be the only brand in the English escutcheon; and that Lewis, in his grasp of universal Empire, shall exclude England from any part of his feudatories, and tributaries, viz. he shall make golden promises to King James, and once in his life (his first virtue of that kind) keep faith, and no worse follow (a very unlikely flattery) yet what an eternal shame to the old English honour, the sleeping dust of our Third Edward, and Fifth Henry, and indeed the whole British chronicles, is our portion, in aggrandising of France, to that prodigious bulk and growth, and dwindling ourselves to that diminutive and despicable state and condition, as are, and must be, the unavoidable consequences of King James's restoration.

Granting the Jacobites, therefore, all their own delusions can shape, that King James shall forget and forgive; shall rule by law, and turn a saint upon a throne: And that the disinterested Lewis shall have no other designs upon England, but purely King James's assistance; yet still the most, they can look for, is perhaps, to enjoy a little English liberty (upon their own supposition) during the short remnant of King James's days, whilst his gray hairs, perhaps, shall fill the seat. But I wonder any reasonable man, that pretends but to common sense, can think it possible, that France should ingross the dominion of Europe, and England ever hope to continue the only exempt from the universal yoke; is there that frenzy so mad as to fancy it? No, all our best hopes will be to be swallowed last, and the annexing of Britain, a province to France; and consequently to groan under all the slavery and vassalage of a French government, is the undoubted fate of England; and hereby the restoration of King James, in its favourablest aspect, brings no less fatality along with it, than entailing of misery upon us, to the end of the world; and all the honour, our protestant restorers will reap, is to be the ruin and curse of their whole posterity, their very names and memories loathed and abhorred to all succeeding generations.

ADMIRAL RUSSEL's LETTER

TO

THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM:

Containing an exact and particular relation of the late happy victory and success against the French Fleet.

Published by authority. In the Savoy, printed by Edward Jones, 1692. Folio, containing eight pages.

Portsmouth June 2, 1692.

MY LORD,

SINCE your Lordship seems to think, that an account, in general, of the fleet's good success is not so satisfactory as one setting forth the particulars; I here send it, with as much brevity as the matter will admit of. I must confess I was not much inclined to trouble you in this nature, not being ambitious to see my name in print on any occasion;

but, since it is your Lordship's commands, I am the more inclined to give you the best information, I am able, of the action, having seen several printed relations not very sincere.

Wednesday, in the evening, being the eighteenth of May, standing over for Cape de Hogue, I ordered Captain Gillam, in the Chester, and the Charles galley, to lie at such a distance to the westward of the fleet, that they might discover any signals made from me.

Thursday the nineteenth, standing with a small gale S.S.W. the wind at W. and W. and by S. hazy weather, Cape Barfleur bearing then S.W. and by S. from me distant about seven leagues, between three and four in the morning, we heard several guns to the westward, and, in a short time, I saw the two frigates making the signal of seeing the enemy, with their heads lying to the northward; which gave me reason to think the enemy lay with their heads that way; upon which, I ordered the signal to be made for the fleet's drawing into a line of battle; after which, I made the signal for the rear of the fleet to tack, that, if the enemy stood to the northward, we might the sooner come to engage. But, soon after four o'clock, the sun had a little cleared the weather, and I saw the French fleet standing to the southward, forming their line on the same tack that I was upon; I then ordered that signal for the rear to tack to be taken in, and, at the same time, bore away with my own ship so far to leeward, as I judged each ship in the fleet might fetch my wake or grain; then brought to again, lying by with my fore-top-sail to the mast, to give the ships, in the fleet, the better opportunity of placing themselves, as they had been before directed. By eight o'clock we had formed an indifferent line, stretching from the S.S.W. to the N N.E. the Dutch in the van, the red in the center, and the blue in the rear. By nine o'clock, the enemy's vanguard had stretched almost as far to the southward as ours, their admiral and rear-admiral of the blue, that were in the rear, closing the line, and their vice-admiral of the same division stretching to the rear of our fleet, but never coming within gun-shot of them. About ten, they bore down upon us, I still lying with my fore-top-sail to the mast. I then observed Monsieur Tourville, the French admiral, put out his signal for battle. I gave order that mine should not be hoisted, till the fleets began to engage, that he might have the fairer opportunity of coming as near me, as he thought convenient; and, at the same time, I sent orders to Admiral Almonde, that, as soon as any of his squadron could weather the enemy's fleet, they should tack, and get to the westward of them; as also to the blue, to make sail, and close the line, they being at some distance a-stern. But, as soon as the fleet began to engage, it fell calm, which prevented their so doing. About half an hour after eleven, Monsieur Tourville, in the Royal Sun (being within three-quarters musquet-shot) brought to, lying by me, at that distance, about an hour and a half, plying his guns very warmly; though I must observe to you, that our men fired their guns faster; after which time, I did not find his guns were fired with that vigour as before, and I could see him in great disorder, his rigging, sails, and top-sail yards being shot, and no body endeavouring to make them serviceable, and his boats towing of him to windward, gave me reason to think he was

much gauled. About two, the wind shifted to the N.W. and by W. and, some little time after that five fresh ships of the enemy's blue squadron came and posted themselves, three a-head of Monsieur Tourville, and two a-stern of him, and fired with great fury, which continued till after three. About four in the evening, there came so thick a fog, that we could not see a ship of the enemy's, which occasioned our leaving off firing for a little time, and then it cleared up, and we could see Monsieur Tourville towing away with his boats to the northward from us; upon which I did the same, and ordered all my division to do the like; and, about half an hour after five, we had a small breeze of wind easterly. I then made the signal for the fleet to chace, sending notice to all the ships about me, that the enemy were running. About this time I heard several broadsides to the westward; and, though I could not see the ships that fired, I concluded them to be our blue, that, by the shift of wind, had weathered the enemy; but it proved to be the rear-admiral of the red, who had weathered Tourville's squadron, and got between them and their admiral of the blue, where they lay firing some time, and then Tourville anchored with some ships of his own division, as also the rear-admiral of the red with some of his. This was the time that Captain Hastings, in the Sandwich, was killed, he driving through those ships, by reason of his anchors not being clear. I could not see this part, because of the great smoke and fog, but have received this information from Sir Cloudesley Shovel since. I sent to all the ships that I could think were near me, to chace to the westward all night; telling them, I designed to follow the enemy to Brest; and sometimes we could see a French ship, two, or three, standing away with all the sail they could make to the westward. About eight, I heard firing to the westward, which lasted about half an hour, it being some of our blue fallen in with some of the ships of the enemy in the fog. It was foggy, and very little wind all night.

Friday the twentieth, it was so thick in the morning, that I could see none of the enemy's ships, and but very few of our own. About eight it began to clear up; the Dutch who were to the southward of me, made the signal of seeing the enemy; and, as it cleared, I saw about thirty-two or thirty-four sail, distant from us between two and three leagues, the wind at E.N.E. and they bearing from us W.S.W. our fleet chacing with all the sail they could make, having taken in the signal for the line of battle, that each ship might make the best of her way after the enemy. Between eleven and twelve, the wind came to the S.W. The French plied to the westward with all the sail they could, and we after them. About four, the tide of ebb being done, the French anchored, as also we in forty-three fathom water, Cape Barfleur bearing S. and by W. About ten in the evening, we weighed with the tide of ebb, the wind at S.W. and plied to the westward. About twelve, my fore-top-mast came by the board, having received several shot.

Saturday the twenty-first, we continued still plying after the enemy, till four in the morning. The tide of ebb being done, I anchored in forty-six fathom water, Cape de Hogue bearing S. and by W. and the island of Alderney S.S.W. By my topmast's going away, the Dutch squadron, and the admiral of the blue, with several of his squadron,

had got a great way to windward of me. About seven in the morning, several of the enemy's ships, being far advanced towards the Race, I perceived driving to the eastward with the tide of flood. Between eight and nine, when they were driven so far to the eastward that I could fetch them, I made the signal for the fleet to cut and follow the enemy; which they all did, except the aforementioned weathermost ships, which rid fast, to observe the motion of the rest of the enemy's ships that continued in the race of Alderney. About eleven, I saw three great ships fair under the shore tack and stand to the westward; but, after making two or three short boards, the biggest of them run a-shore, who presently cut his masts away; the other two, being to leeward of him, plied up to him. The reason, as I judge, of their doing this was, that they could not weather our sternmost ships to the westward, nor get out a-head of us to the eastward. I observing that many of our ships hovered about those, I sent to Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red, who was in the rear of our fleet, to keep such a number of ships and fireships with him, as might be sufficient to destroy those of the enemy; and to order the others to follow me, I being then in pursuit of the rest of the enemy. An account of the performing that service I do not trouble your Lordship with, he having given it you already. About four in the afternoon, eighteen sail of the enemy's ships got to the eastward of Cape Barfleur; after which, I observed they hauled in for le Hogue. The rear-admiral of the red, vice-admiral of the blue, and some other ships, were a-head of me. About ten at night, I anchored in the bay of le Hogue, and lay till four the next morning, being

Sunday the twenty-second; and then I weighed, and stood in near the land of le Hogue; but, when we found the flood came, we anchored in good sandy ground. At two in the afternoon we weighed again, and plied close in with le Hegue, where we saw thirteen sail of the enemy's men of war hauled close in with the shore. The rear-admiral of the red tells me, that the night before he saw the other five, which made up the eighteen I first chaced, stand to the eastward.

Monday the twenty-third, I sent in Vice-admiral Rooke, with several men of war and fireships, as also the boats of the fleet, to destroy those ships; but the enemy had gotten them so near the shore, that not any of our men of war, except the small frigates, could do any service; but that night Vice-admiral Rooke, with the boats, burnt six of them.

Tuesday the twenty-fourth, about eight in the morning, he went in again with the boats, and burnt the other seven, together with several transport ships, and some vessels with ammunition, the names of which ships I am not yet able to give your Lordship any other account of, than what I formerly sent you, which are as follow:

		Guns.
Soleil Royal	Count de Tourville,	104
L'Ambitieux	Chev. de la Villete, Vice-admiral of the Blue.	104
L'Admirable	Monsieur Beaujeau,	90
La Magnifique	Mons. Cottologon, Rere-Admiral of the Blue.	76

		Guns.
Le St. Philipp,	Monsieur Infreville,	76
Le Conquerant,	Du Magnon,	76
Le Triumphant,	Monsieur Bellemont,	74
L'Etonant,	Monsieur de Septime,	80
Le Terrible,	Monsieur Septvilla,	80
L'Amiable,	Monsieur de Raal,	68
Le Fier,	Monsieur Larsethoir,	68
Le Glorieux,	Le Ch. deChateaumoorant,	60
Le Serieux,	Monsieur Bernier,	60
Le Trident,	Monsieur Monteaud,	56

As the prisoners report, a three-deck ship burnt by accident, and the following, sunk; how true I do not know.

Le Prince,	Monsieur Bagneuz,	60
Le St. Paril,	Monsieur Ferille,	60

Tho' these be all the names that I have been able to learn, yet I am sure there are sixteen ships of consequence burnt.

Wednesday the twenty-fifth, I sailed from le Hogue, ordering the admiral of the blue, with a squadron of English and Dutch ships under his command, to run along the enemy's coast as far as Havre de Grace, in hopes that some of the before-mentioned five ships, that stood to the eastward, might have been got thither; but he informs me, that, upon his appearing before that place, he could perceive but one or two small vessels. The number of the enemy's ships did not exceed fifty men of war, by the best information, from fifty-six to one-hundred and four guns; and though it must be confessed, that our number was superior to theirs, which probably at first might startle them, yet, by their coming down with that resolution, I cannot think it had any great effect upon them. And this I may affirm for a truth, not with any intention to value our own action, or to lessen the bravery of the enemy, that they were beaten by a number considerably less than theirs; the calmness and thickness of the weather giving very few of the Dutch, or the Blue, the opportunity of engaging; which, I am sure, they look upon as a great misfortune; and, had the weather proved otherwise, I do not see how it was possible for any of them to have escaped us.

This is the exactest account that I am able to give you, which, I hope, will prove to your Lordship's satisfaction. Vice-admiral Rooke has given me a very good character of several men employed in the boats, and I have ordered him to give me a list of the names of such persons whose behaviour was remarkable, in order to their reward. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

Humble Servant,

E. RUSSELL.

THE CHARACTER

OF AN

HONEST AND WORTHY PARLIAMENT-MAN.

A Folio Half-sheet, no date.

I HOPE the reader will not be so unwise, as to expect, that I should here entertain him with a pompous enumeration of all those imaginary virtues, wherewith the romantick modellers of a Platonick, or Utopian commonwealth, adorn their paper senators; when the character, even of a real Cato, would be altogether as useless in our times, as it is rarely found to be practised; and, consequently, as little regarded now, as he himself was, by the corruptage wherein he lived. Not, but that our nation has, of late, produced as great heroes, as any antiquity can boast of, yet it cannot be imagined, that they are to be found in every little town or borrough.

As for my honest and worthy parliament-man, all the qualifications, that I desire to find in him, are only such as it would be the greatest affront imaginable to any English gentleman, to think him destitute of; that is, that he should be a man of sense, integrity, and honour. Let him but follow their dictates, and then all the duties which we may reckon, or think of, to be incumbent on him, will be as easily performed by him, as they are demonstrable to be the obvious and natural consequents of such principles.

As for his religion, he is a sincere, as well as open professor of that which by our laws is now become essential to his office, I mean that of the Church of England. Nor is he of it, because it is established by law, or that he was bred in it; but, before he settled his opinion, he maturely examined its first principles, and found them agreeable to the Divine Will, and right reason; he discovered the folly and errors of those who oppose any points of its doctrine. And, being thoroughly satisfied in the fundamentals, for its discipline, he intirely submits himself to the judgment and authority of those, to whose conduct and discretion, the government of the church has been in all ages committed.

But though he be a zealous churchman himself, yet he is so far from persecuting those who dissent from the established religion, purely for conscience-sake, that he is ready to pity their weakness, have compassion on their infirmities, and express the greatest tenderness imaginable for their persons, whenever that time shall come, when it will be his chance to meet with those, whose scruples arise rather from a real defect of their understandings, than some worldly interest or desire of filthy lucre, an obstinate, peevish, or self-conceited humour, or the vain-glorious spirit of contradiction.

As for his sentiments in state affairs, in which, next to his religion, his greatest desire is to be orthodox; before they fix, he always tries them with the touch-stone of reason; and, consequently, thinks it lawful for him to be a Latitudinarian in judgment, in relation to civil matters: I mean, so far as not to expect to find an infallible judge, amongst either Tories, Whigs, or Trimmers. He takes up opinions upon trust from no party, nor condemns any, because they are of it, who differ from him in other things. And, therefore, he could not but smile, to see, in our late times of dissension, so many, in all outward appearance, honest and thinking men, continually jog on, like a gang of pack-horses, after the leaders of their several parties; and though they wander after these blazing, but deceitful lights, into never so many crooked and bye paths, yet, with an implicit and blind faith, still believe themselves to be in the right way.

For his own part, his only aim is at the honour, safety, and interest of his country. On this mark, he keeps his eye constantly fixed; nor can the dreadful frowns of an enraged prince, or the horrid clamours of a possessed multitude, ever be able to remove him from his point. He finds that his beloved virtue brings such solid, though invisible rewards along with her, that he is equally insensible to the promising smiles of fawning great ones that would tempt, and the terrible menaces of the fiercest demagogues, that would force him to forsake her. He can securely, without any fear of infection, deride the folly, and pity the madness of those who forfeit their honesty, to found their happiness upon the unstable basis of court favours, or popular applause.

He truly enjoys all that freedom in his actions, which he thinks his duty to procure for, and defend his countrymen in. He is wholly a stranger to the servile ambition of gaining the favourable opinion of others; nor can he tell what it is to fear the censures of any. He is directed, influenced, or byassed by none; and, whilst he is engaged in his country's service, he thinks the most glorious epithets, the world can fix upon him, are those of a rigid, inflexible, ill-natured, honest man.

When he discovers that any have designs contrary to the publick good, let their authority and power be never so great, he opposes their opinions, with all the courage and zeal his generous principles can furnish him with, without any respect to their persons. But when the time comes, wherein the right side shall turn uppermost, as after all revolutions it ever will at last, he is then so far from trampling upon his fallen adversaries, that he becomes, I mean, as a private man, most tender of their persons, without any respect to their opinions.

He is altogether unacquainted with that base and degenerate passion, called hatred. Yet, there is one sort of men, whom he thinks worthy of the utmost degree of his contempt and scorn; I mean, those false and treacherous friends who have formerly gone along with, nay, much before him, in the same cause; those pretended zealots for their country and religion, who, for their own paultry interest, or some by-ends, made it their business to set us together by the ears, with their noisy clamours against popery and slavery; but, when the danger was become real, and just hanging over our heads, when our church and state were

designed for immediate ruin, with the same mercenary breath, servilely offered themselves to be employed as tools, in the destruction of them both. These, he conceives, ought to have a mark put upon them, as the worst of traytors; he takes them to be the vilest of men, or rather (to use the expression of one, who, perhaps, may think himself concerned here) to carry 'nothing of men, that is, Englishmen, but the shape.'

But I now find myself necessitated, to take my hand from off the tablet, lest, instead of compleating the portraicture of an honest parliament-man, I should insensibly touch upon them, who deserve another character. My intention then being, like my honest patriot's, willing to offend no man, I shall take my leave of him at present, with this remark only, That a nation, where such as he preside at the helm, will, without doubt, be altogether as happy, as if it were steered by Plato's philosophising governors, or governing philosophers.

A PRIVATE LETTER

SENT FROM ONE QUAKER TO ANOTHER.

The following letter (which was really sent from a country Quaker, to his friend in London) I here publish, not with design to reflect on the Quakers, but that the reader may see I am so impartial, that I will insert every thing wrote either by Churchman, Presbyterian, or Quaker, &c. that I think deserves it.

Friend John,

'I Desire thee to be so kind as to go to one of those *sinful men in the flesh*, called an *attorney*, and let him take out an *instrument with a seal fixed thereunto*, by means whereof we may seize the *outward tabernacle* of George Green, and bring him before the *lamb-skin men* at Westminster, and teach him *to do, as he would be done by*. And so I rest thy *friend in the light*.

R. G.

A VIEW

OF

THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST:

Wherein the true Causes of the Civil War are impartially delineated, by Strokes borrowed from Lord Clarendon, Sir Philip Warwick, H. L'Estrange, and other most authentick and approved Historians.

London, printed in Quarto, containing twenty-eight pages.

IT is a melancholy reflection, that the best things, through the perverseness of our nature, are generally corrupted to the worst ends; and that the liberty we enjoy in England, under the best of queens, and the best-constituted government, should, by some licentious and servile writers, be abused to the defaming honest patriots, and branding publick-spirited nations; which naturally tends to the bringing in slavery: for nothing can more effectually destroy our happy constitution, than the heats and animosities industriously raised and fomented amongst us by a party of designing men, who, under pretence of vindicating the memory of the royal martyr, asperse and calumniate those who endeavour to compose our differences.

A sad instance of this we find in the usage the Reverend Dr. Kennet, Doctor in Divinity, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, and Minister of St. Botolph's without Aldgate, has lately met with, upon account of an excellent sermon by him preached before his parishioners, on the thirty-first of January last, and since made publick in print, to clear the misapprehension of some few who heard it, and to silence the confident, though false, report of a far greater number who did not hear it.

The publication of this sermon has, in a great measure, had a contrary effect to what that reverend divine ought reasonably to have expected. For, though it has undeceived many honest people, yet, at the same time, it has given birth to several libels, in which his innocent expressions are maliciously made to signify what the author never had in his thoughts.

The first thing, excepted against by the doctor's unfair censurers, is the title, as well as the subject of his sermon, endeavouring to insinuate to the world, 'That civil war is an expression that palliates the crime, rather than any ways agreeable to the solemnities of the day.' How this can give offence to any, is hard to be imagined, since the word 'civil war' was ever used as synonymous with rebellion, even by the warmest sticklers for that unfortunate prince; as Dr. Kennet himself does, in several places in this very sermon.

However, which of the two words, civil war, or rebellion, is the properest, history alone can determine; and therefore let us listen to historians.

'Things were now going fast on (says Dr. Welwood *) towards lessening the confidence betwixt the King and parliament; and yet there were not wanting endeavours, on both sides, to accommodate matters by soft and healing methods, when the King's coming to the house of commons in person, to demand five of their members, whom he had ordered the day before to be impeached of high-treason, did put all into combustion, and gave occasion to the house to assert their privileges. This was the most unlucky step King Charles could have made at that juncture, and the indiscretion of some, that attended the King to the lobby of the house, was insisted upon, as an argument, that the King was resolved to use violence upon the parliament; which, it is to be presumed, was a thing far from his thoughts. Whoever they were, that advised the King to this rash attempt, are justly chargeable with all the blood that was afterwards spilt; for this sudden action was the first and visible ground of all our following miseries. For, immediately upon it, there was nothing but confusion and tumults, fears and jealousies every where, which spread themselves to Whitehall in the rudest manner, so that, his Majesty thinking himself not safe there, he retired with his family to Hampton-court. The King leaving the parliament in this manner, there were scarce any hopes of a thorough reconciliation. But when, after a great many removes from place to place, his Majesty came to set up his standard at Nottingham, there ensued a fatal and bloody war; which, it is reasonable to believe, was never designed by either side. Each party blamed the other for beginning this war, and it is not easy to determine, which of them began it. Though the King made the first steps that seemed to tend that way, such as, raising a troop for a guard to his person, summoning the gentlemen and freeholders of several counties to attend him in his progress to the north, and ordering arms and ammunition to be bought in Holland for his use; yet the parliament did as much at the same time, for they likewise raised guards of their own, and took care that the magazine of Hull should not fall into the King's hands. So that the King and parliament prepared themselves insensibly for war, without considering, that these preparations must gradually and inevitably come to blows in the end. ——— During the whole course of this unnatural war, it was hard to divine what would be the fate of England, whether an absolute, unlimited monarchy, a new huddled-up commonwealth, or a downright anarchy. If the King should prevail, the first was to be feared; if the parliament, the second was to be apprehended; and, if the army should set up for themselves, as afterwards they did, the last was inevitably to follow. All which some of the best men about the King wisely foresaw, and trembled at the event of every battle that was fought, whoever happened to be the victors. It was the dread of these misfortunes, that hindered the lords and commons, whom the King called to Oxford, to assume to themselves the name of the Parliament of England, and from declaring those

* Welwood's Memoirs, p. 67, & seq.

met at Westminster REBELS; though the King again and again importuned them to it, and took their refusal so ill, that, in one of his letters to the Queen, he called them in derision his Mungrel Parliament.'

Thus far Dr. Welwood. Let us now hear the account the Earl of Clarendon gives of the beginning of the civil war *. 'The rebellion of Ireland, says that noble historian, which was highly detrimental to the King's affairs that began to recover life, broke out in all parts of the kingdom, during his Majesty's stay in Scotland, and made a wonderful impression upon the minds of men, who were induced to believe, that it was influenced by the court; the scandal of which aspersion stuck upon the Queen's skirts. Some time after, the King commanded his attorney-general to accuse the Lord Kimbolton, and five commoners, of high-treason; and, the next day, his Majesty, attended by his ordinary guard and some few gentlemen, came to the house of commons; and, commanding his attendants to wait without, himself, with the prince elector his nephew, went into the house, to the great astonishment of all, to demand the impeached members: but finding, as he said, the birds were all flown, he returned to Whitehall, and the house, in great disorder, adjourned till the next day. When the Lord Digby, the only person that gave the counsel, found the ill success of the impeachment in both houses, he advised the King to go the next morning to the Guild-hall, and acquaint the mayor and aldermen of the grounds of it. As he passed through the city, the rude people crouded together, crying out, "Privilege of parliament, privilege of parliament." However, the King, though much mortified, pursued his resolution, and, having dined with one of the sheriffs, he returned to Whitehall; and, the next day, a proclamation came forth, for the apprehension of the accused members, forbidding any persons to conceal, or entertain them. These proceedings of the King created a wonderful change in the minds of all sorts of people; all the former noise of plots against the parliament, which before had been laughed at, was now thought to be built upon good grounds; and what hitherto had been only whispered of Ireland, was now talked aloud, and published in print. They, who with the greatest courage had thwarted seditious practices, were now confounded with the thoughts of what had been done, and what was like to follow. Though they were far from imagining the accused members had been much wronged, yet they thought they had been called to an account at a very unseasonable time; and the exposing the dignity and safety of the King, in his coming in person, in that manner, to the house of commons, and going the next day to the Guildhall, where he met with such reproaches to his face, added to their anger and indignation: all which was justly charged upon the Lord Digby, who was before less beloved than he deserved, and was now the most universally hated of any man in the nation; and yet continued in his Majesty's confidence.—When the King perceived how ill his accusation against the five members succeeded, and that all, who expressed any signal zeal to his service, would be removed from him, under the notion of delinquents, he resolved the Queen should remove to Portsmouth, and that himself would

* See Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.

go to Hull *(where his magazine lay ;)* and that, being secured in those places of strength, whither his friends might resort and be protected, he would sit quiet, till the angry part could be brought to reason. But this resolution was discovered to the leading members, who obtained orders from the parliament, for securing Hull and Portsmouth; for which reason, and a promise from several lords, that they would vigorously unite to support the regal power, together with the extreme fear the Queen had of danger, that counsel was laid aside, and it was concluded the Queen should transport herself to Holland, there to provide arms and ammunition; and the King retire to York, and listen to no particulars, till he knew how far the alteration would extend. Hitherto the greatest acts of hostility, excepting Sir John Hotham's denying the King entrance into Hull, were no more than votes and orders; but now the King saw he was so far from having Hull restored, that the garison there increased daily, so that Sir John Hotham was better able to take York, than his Majesty to recover Hull; and therefore he thought it now high time to follow their example, and put himself into a posture of defence. Hereupon, such gentlemen, as were willing, listed themselves, by his Majesty's appointment, into a troop of horse, of whom the Prince of Wales was made captain; which, with one regiment of trained-bands, was his body-guard. As soon as they heard at London, that the King actually had a guard, these votes were published by both houses: "That the King, seduced by evil counsellors, intended to make war against the parliament: that, whensoever he did so, it would be a breach of the trust reposed in him, contrary to his oath, and tending to the dissolution of the government: and that whosoever shall serve him, or assist him in such wars, were traytors, by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and had been so adjudged by two acts of parliament, 2 Rich. II. and 1 Hen. IV." These votes were sent to the King at York, with a petition, that he would disband his new-raised forces, and content himself with his ordinary guard; otherwise they should hold themselves bound with their utmost care to serve the parliament, and secure the publick peace.'

Upon the King's denying their demand, they began to provide for the raising of an army: and here the same noble author thinks it not amiss to consider the method of God's justice, 'That the same principles should be used to the extorting all sovereign power from the crown, which the crown had a little before used to extend its authority beyond its bounds, to the prejudice of the just rights of the subject. A supposed necessity was then thought reason sufficient to create a power of taxing the subject, as they thought convenient, by writs of ship-money, never known before; and a supposed necessity is now more fatally concluded a good plea to exclude the crown from the exercise of any power, by an ordinance of parliament, for ordering the militia, never before heard of; and the same maxim of 'Salus populi suprema lex,' which had been used to break in upon the liberty of the people, was applied for the destroying the rights of the crown. The King (pursues our author) conceiving the rumours spread abroad might induce many to believe he intended to raise a war against his parliament, he professed in council, and said, " He declared to all the world, that he ever had an abhor-

rence to such designs; but that all his endeavours aimed at a sure settlement of the protestant religion, the just privileges of parliament, the liberty of the subject, the law, peace, and prosperity of this kingdom." However, about this time, the King, by the advice of some eminent judges and lawyers, issued out a declaration concerning the militia, asserting the right of the crown in granting commissions of array for the better government thereof, and dispatched those commissions into all counties, expresly forbidding any obedience to be paid to the ordinance for the militia by both houses, under the penalty of high-treason. This only exasperated the paper-combates in declarations, each party insisting the law was on their side; to which the people yielded obedience, as they saw it for their conveniency. Some men, well-affected to the crown, and averse to the extravagant carriage of the House of Commons, could not conceal their aversion to the commission of array, as a thing unwarrantable by law; and many believed, if the King had applied himself to the old known way of lords lieutenants, and their deputies, it had been more beneficial to his service; for the people, having never heard of a commission of array, were easily blown up to a jealousy by the specious suggestions of the houses. Some time after, the King made a vain attempt upon Hull, and, upon his return to York, found himself, by an accident that fell out, under an absolute necessity of declaring war. The accident was, that Colonel Goring, governor of Portsmouth, had declared for his Majesty, and refused to obey the parliament; who had thereupon sent Sir William Waller, with an army under his command, to reduce that town. The King's affairs received a considerable reputation, in that so important a place as Portsmouth, and so good an officer as Goring was returned to his duty; whereupon, he forthwith published a declaration, in which he recited all the insolent rebellious actions of the two houses against him, forbidding all his subjects to pay any obedience to them; and at the same time published his proclamation, "requiring all men, who could bear arms, to come to him at Nottingham, where he intended to set up his royal standard; which all his good subjects were obliged to attend." Thus far the Earl of Clarendon. By all which passages it appears, that, after reciprocal provocations given, and many unwarrantable things done on both sides, two contending parties, in the same nation, rose up in arms, endeavouring the one to conquer and destroy the other; and what is this but a civil war?

The authors of the libels published against Dr. Kennet are so unfair, as to suspect the praises he bestows, in the first page of his sermon, upon King Charles, whom he sincerely and justly calls 'the martyr of the day, and one of the most virtuous and most religious of our English princes,' as if, thereby, he only intended to conveigh the deadly poison more easily and effectually. But, to pass over these malicious slurs, let us proceed to the vindication of the Doctor's general positions; the first of which is, 'That a French interest and alliance was one of the leading causes of the King's murder.

To prove this, Dr. Kennet justly * remarks, 'That there was that frame and constitution in our ancestors, that their true English hearts

* See his Sermon, p. 7.

had continually some secret aversion and antipathy to that neighbouring nation; and that England and France, like Rome and Carthage, stood always jealous and reviling one another. The old English aversation, continues he, seems to have begun with the Norman conquest; when our good fore-fathers, then lately secured by the best laws and liberties in the world, were invaded and subdued by a pretender from France; and they soon felt that foreign yoke to be so hard and grievous, that they would gladly have shaken it off; but, the more patience they were forced to, the more they hated those insolent new lords and masters, calling often for their old liberties and the laws of King Edward. This anger, and sort of aversion to the French, did continue fixed and rooted in the minds of our right English forefathers; and it was this inbred spirit of emulation, that so often led our English armies into the bowels of France, and, in the reprisals of honour, conquered that kingdom more than once, but never once more suffered this kingdom to be conquered by the French.' To deny this would betray an absolute ignorance of our English history, and therefore I shall not go about to illustrate it by examples.

It is certain, that nothing could ever allay the natural aversion, the English have to the French, but the conformity in religion with some of the latter; and it was only upon that score, that the nation was well pleased with the seasonable assistance, which Queen Elisabeth yielded, from time to time, to the reformed of France. And, by the succours that politick princess was all along sending to the United Provinces, she put an invincible bar to the progress Spain and Rome were then making towards universal empire, and kept the balance of power even between the two great monarchies of Europe.

But the next prince, * James the First, did not tread in her steps, while he governed. 'National, or the protestant interest was no where pursued; secret negotiations were carried on with the Pope; the protestants were not only oppressed in Germany, but reduced to the last extremity; and besieged in Montauban by Lewis the Thirteenth, and in Rochelle by Count Soissons and the Duke of Guise; and all, that was done towards their relief from hence, was by a mediation carried on without any vigour. And, which gave the people dreadful apprehensions, Spain, in those days, was still formidable, and an over-balance for all the rest of Europe; whose designs, instead of being opposed, were promoted by England, and the King meanly courted an alliance with his greatest enemy. The fear of universal monarchy awakened the whole kingdom, and brought on that parliament, which was assembled in 1621; where very plain remonstrances were presented to the throne, setting forth the dangers that threatened the nation, who still had a fresh sense of the calamities their ancestors had suffered, under the reign of Queen Mary. But Spanish gold had charmed our court; and that parliament was dismissed in anger, and several of the principal members were imprisoned, who could not sit silently and see their country lost. Thus this old prince chose rather to follow the dictates of his own will, and the pernicious advice of his favourites and ministers, than the faithful

* See D'Avenant's Essay on Balance of Power, p. 8. Sect. 7.

and disinterested counsel of his parliaments, who addressed to him to arm, and to enter into such leagues as might oppose the growth of the Spanish monarchy. But he entertained secret hopes, that so potent an alliance, as that with Spain appeared to be, would make him more powerful over his own people; and so, notwithstanding the representations of his Lords and Commons, in order to accomplish this match, he broke some of those wholesome and necessary laws, made against papists, which at last proved fatal to him and his posterity; for, by his rough dealings with the House of Commons, he then sowed the seeds of that discontent, which ended in the ruin of his son. The general clamours of the people, and their fear of the power of Spain, produced in that reign another parliament, which sat in 1623, and then the Spanish match was broken off.'

Hereupon, the states general of the United Provinces recommended a protestant lady to King James; but that prince, being resolved to have the daughter of a great King for his son, did fatally turn his eye to Henrietta Maria, daughter of France.

'The marriage-treaty was not so fair, smooth, and plausible in the progress, as in the entrance. For the French, perceiving that King James desired the match unmeasurably, abated of their forwardness, enlarged their demands in favour of the papists, as the Spaniards had done before; and strained the King to the concession of such immunities, as he had promised to his parliament he would never grant, upon the mediation of foreign princes*.' Cardinal Richelieu, who began to have the sole management of the French King's affairs, in concert with Spada, the Pope's nuncio, took all imaginable precautions, by this treaty, to advance the Romish religion and interest, hoping, as indeed it proved, that the ecclesiasticks, the queen was allowed to bring over with her, would propagate the popish faith; and that the descendants of that marriage, who were to be under the tuition and government of their mother, till they came to the full age of thirteen, would by that time have sufficiently imbibed her religion, and should in time sit upon the English throne; which the protestants of this kingdom felt to their sorrow; for, of Henriettta's two sons †, who reigned after their father ‡, one‖ did all along secretly favour the Roman catholicks, and, '§ after a continued dissimulation, and a most scandalous life,' died in that ** persuasion; and the other ††, 'though not so dissolute in his manners, did not scruple to own his true sentiments, and, notwithstanding his solemn promise to maintain the protestant religion, by law established, endeavoured by open force to destroy it.'

The conclusion of the marriage treaty was attended, in France, with many outward and voluntary expressions of joy, as, bonfires, and illuminations; but it was only by express orders from the privy-council, that the like was done in London. For as Dr. Kennet says very justly, 'our English people never could heartily approve any royal match into the court of France; and, wherever any such match was entered into by our former governors, it seems to have been against the genius of our

* See Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II p. 52. † Charles and James. ‡ Charles I.
‖ Charles II. § See Le Vassor Histoire de Louis XIII. ** Popish. †† James II.

people, and therefore fatally against the interest of these princes.' He instances the two unfortunate reigns of Edward the Second, and Richard the Second, whose marriages into that court had the consequence of a calamitous life, and an untimely death, to these two monarchs.

'There was somewhat of the like pernicious influence,' adds Dr. Kennet that worked upon the tragedy of this day. Our royal martyr, by taking a royal consort from the Bourbon family, did apparently bring over some evils and mischiefs that disturbed his whole reign: For, within less than one year, the French servants of that queen grew so imperious and insolent, that the King was forced to discharge them, and to humble them by a return into their own country.'

'A very sad doom it was certainly to the French, says one of our* English historians; but, as the animadversion was extreme severe, so their offences were in like degree heinous. The bishop of Mende, the queen's almoner, stood charged for putting intolerable scorn upon, and making religion itself do penance, by enjoining her majesty, under the notion of penance, to go barefoot, to spin, and to wait upon her family servants at their ordinary repasts, to walk on foot in the mire on a rainy morning, from Somerset-house to St. James's; her confessor, mean while, like Lucifer himself, riding by her in his coach; but, which is worst of all, to make a progress to Tyburn, there to present her devotions for the departed souls of the Papists, who had been executed at that place, on account of the gunpowder treason, and other enormous crimes. A most impious piaculary, whereof the King said acutely, that the action can have no greater invective than the relation. The other sex were accused of crimes of another nature, whereof, Madam St. George was, as in dignity of office, so in guilt, the principal; culpable she was in many particulars, but her most notorious and unpardonable fault was, her being an accursed instrument of some unkindness between the King and Queen. These incendiaries once cashired, the Queen, who formerly shewed so much waspish protervity, soon fell into a mode of loving compliance. But, though this renvoy of her Majesty's servants imported domestick peace, yet was it attended with an ill aspect from France, though our King, studying to preserve fair correspondence with his brother, sent the Lord Carleton, with instructions to represent a true account of the action, with all the motives to it; but his reception was very coarse, being never admitted to audience. Lewis dispatched Monsieur the Marshal de Bassompierre, as extraordinary ambassador to our King, to demand the restitution of the Queen's domesticks; which he at last obtained for most of them.'

'It† was this match,' adds Dr. Kennet, 'that began to corrupt our nation with French modes and vanities; (which gave occasion to Mr. Prynn, to write that severe invective, called Histrio-Mastix, against the stage-plays) to betray our counsels to the French court; to weaken the poor protestants in France, by rendering ineffectual the relief of Rochelle; nay, and to lessen our own trade and navigation. These ill effects, beyond the King's intention, raised such a jealousy, and spread such a

* H. L'Estrange in his Reign of King Charles disposed into Annals. † Dr. Kennet's Sermon, page 9 and 10.

damp upon the English subjects, that it was unhappily turned into one of the unjust occasions of civil war: Which indeed began more out of hatred to that party, than out of any disaffection to the King. The people thought themselves too much under French counsels, and a French ministry, or else, they could never have been drawn aside into that great rebellion. This interest, when suspected to prevail, brought the King into urgent difficulties; and in the midst of them the aid and assistance, which that interest offered him, did but the more effectually weaken him. On this side the water, the French services betrayed him; and on the other side, the French policies were at work to destroy him.'

And indeed, as Queen Henrietta had a mighty, if not a supreme influence over King Charles's counsels, so did her mother, Mary de Medicis, who came over by her invitation, administer great cause of jealousy to this nation. 'The people (says the same* historian I mentioned before) were generally malecontent at her coming, and wished her farther off. For they did not like her train and followers, which had often been observed to be the sword or pestilence, so that she was beheld as some meteor of ill signification. Nor was one of these calamities thought more the effect of her fortune than inclination; for her restless and unconstant spirit was prone to embroil all wheresoever she came. And besides, as Queen Henrietta was extraordinary active in raising money, among the Roman Catholicks of this kingdom, to enable King Charles to make war against his subjects of Scotland, so was she extreme busy in fomenting the unhappy differences between his Majesty and his English parliament.'

'The French, says the Earl of Clarendon †, according to their nature, were much more active and more intent upon blowing the fire. The former commotions in Scotland, had been raised by special encouragement, if not contrivance, of the Cardinal Richelieu; and by his activity all these distempers were carried on till his death, and by his rules and principles afterwards. Since the beginning of this parliament (in 1640) the French ambassador, Monsieur la Ferté, dissembled not to have notable familiarity with those who governed most in the two houses, discovered to them whatsoever he knew, or could reasonably devise, to the prejudice of the King's counsels and resolutions; and took all opportunities to lessen and undervalue the King's regal power, by applying himself on publick occasions of state, and in his Majesty's name, and to improve his interest to the two houses of parliament, which had in no age b fore been ever known.—Besides these indirect artifices in the French ambassador, very many of the Hugonots in France were declared enemies to the King. And, as this animosity proved of unspeakable inconvenience and damage to the King, so the occasion, from whence these disaffections grew, was very imprudently administered by the state here. Not to speak of the business of Rochelle, which, though it stuck deep in all, yet most imputed the counsels of that time to men that were dead, and not a fixed design of the court. They had a great quarrel,

* H. L'Estrange's Annals of King Charles, page 158. † History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. Page 71, 72, 73, 74.

which made them believe, that their very religion was persecuted by the Church of England. Queen Elisabeth, finding and well knowing what notable uses might be made of the French, Dutch, and Walloons, who, in the time of King Edward the Sixth, transplanted themselves into England, enlarged their privileges by new concessions; drawing by this means great numbers over, and suffering them to enjoy the exercise of the reformed religion after their own manner. And so they had churches in Norwich, Canterbury, and other places, as well as in London; whereby the wealth of those places marvellously increased. The same charters of liberty were continued to them, during the peaceable reign of King James, and in the beginning of this King's reign. Some few years before these troubles, when the power of church-men grew more transcendent, and indeed the faculties and understandings of lay-counsellors more dull, lazy, and unactive, upon pretence that the French, Dutch, and Walloons exceeded the liberties which were granted to them, and that, under the notion of foreigners, many English separated from the church, the council-board connived at, whilst the bishops did some acts of restraint, with which these congregations grew generally discontented, and thought the liberty of their consciences to be taken from them; which caused in London much complaining of this kind, but much more in the diocess of Norwich, where Dr. Wren, the bishop there, passionately and warmly proceeded against them; so that many left the kingdom, to the lessening the wealthy manufacture there of kerseys and narrow cloths.---And whereas in all former times, the ambassadors, and all foreign ministers of state, employed from England, into any parts where the reformed religion was exercised, frequented their churches, gave all possible countenance to their profession, and particularly the ambassador Lieger at Paris, had diligently and constantly frequented the church at Charenton, and held a fair intercourse with those of that religion throughout the kingdom, by which they had still received advantage. The contrary to this was now with great industry practised, and some advertisements, if not instructions, given to the ambassador there, to forbear any extraordinary commerce, with the men of that profession. And the Lord Scudamore, who was the last ordinary ambassador there, before the beginning of this parliament, not only declined going to Charenton, but furnished his own chapel with such ornaments as gave great offence and umbrage to those of the reformation there, who had not seen the like. Besides that, he was careful to publish upon all occasions, that the Church of England looked not on the Hugonots as a part of their communion: Which was likewise too much and too industriously discoursed at home.---They of the Church of England, who committed the greatest errors this way, had undoubtedly not the least thoughts of making alterations in it, towards the countenancing of popery, as has been uncharitably conceived; but unskilfully believed, that the total declining the interest of that party, where it exceeded the necessary bounds of reformation, would make this Church of England looked upon with more reverence. And so the Church of England, not giving the same countenance to those of the religion in foreign parts, which it had formerly done, no sooner was discerned to be under a cloud at home, but those of the religion abroad were glad of the occasion, to

publish their malice against her, and to enter into the same conspiracy against the crown, without which they could have done little hurt to the church.

'Many tender lovers of their faith and country, says Dr. Kennet*, might well deplore the unhappiness of that alliance, with France, which gave no small occasion to the calamity and the curse of this day; for it was from thence, that did arise the apprehensions and fears of popery: Popery that irreconcileable enemy, not only to our reformed faith and worship, but to our civil rights, liberties, and properties, to our established laws, and to our settled constitution. It was for this wise and good reason, that our first reformers would never bear with any express toleration of popery, nor with any long connivance at it. That excellent young Josiah, King Edward VI, would not dispense with his own sister to have publick mass in her own family. Queen Elisabeth indulged them no longer than while there were some hopes to reclaim them. Her next successor, King James, was a champion against popery, and strenuously opposed it, both as a wise governor, and a learned writer; and this gave peace and happiness to the greatest part of his administration. But, when toward the decline of it, he fell into a treaty for a match with Spain, and, during that treaty, did in a manner suspend the laws against the papists, and gave his subjects an occasion to believe, that one article of that match was to be a toleration of popery, this gave such universal jealousy and discontent to his people, and the parliaments of them, that it threatened apparent danger; and, if that treaty had not broke off, and thereby eased the minds of people, we know not what might have been in the end thereof. For certainly his royal son, the martyr of this day, might justly impute many of his troubles to these fears and jealousies of popery. And they really began with the French alliance, where one article was to have a publick chapel, and priests and mass for the queen and her houshold. This gave an opportunity of open resort to all papists, foreigners and natives; this gave shelter and protection to swarms of Jesuits and other emissaries from Rome; this gained an interest at court for pardons and for patents of profit and preferment to the leading Roman Catholicks; this brought over one or two Nuncio's from the pope, to attend upon the Queen. In short, this did give countenance to popery; and therefore did cast a damp and dread upon many sincere protestants; and did put them into such terrible apprehensions of the Romans coming to take away their place and nation, that this strength of fear too much began the civil war, and helped to carry it forward to the innocent and sacred blood shed upon this day.'

In all these, Dr. Kennet speaks with the most authentick and faithful historians: 'The jesuits, seminary priests, and other recusants, says † H. L'Estrange, presuming protection, by reason of the late match, contracted so much insolence, that at Winchester, and many other places, they frequently passed through the churches in time of divine service, houting and ho-lo-ing, not only to the disturbance of that duty, but

* Dr. Kennet's Sermon. page 11, 12, 13, 14. † Annals of King Charles's Reign, in the year 1625, page 19.

scorn of our religion; yea, and one popish lord, when the King was at chapel, was heard to prate on purpose louder, in a gallery adjoining, than the chaplain prayed, whereat the King was so moved, that he sent this message to him: Either let him come and do as we do, or else I will make him prate farther off.'

In the year 1627, a notable discovery was made of a college of jesuits at Clerkenwell, of which the same * author gives us this account. 'The first information was given by one Crosse, a messenger to Secretary Coke, whereupon he sent the sheriff to attack them; who, coming with a formidable power, found all the holy foxes retired, and sneaked away; but, after long search, their place of security was found out, it being a lobby behind a new brick-wall wainscotted over; which, being demolished, they were presently unkennelled, to the number of ten. They found also divers letters from the pope to them, impowering them to erect this college, under the name of Domus Probationis (but it proved Reprobationis) Sancti Ignatii; and their books of accounts, whereby it appeared they had five-hundred pounds per annum contribution from their benefactors, and had purchased four-hundred and fifty pounds, per annum.'

Among their papers, says † Mr. Rushworth, was found a copy of a letter written to their father rector at Brussels, discovering their designs upon this state; of which I shall transcribe these remarkable passages: 'Let not the damp of astonishment seize upon your ardent and zealous souls, in the apprehending the sudden calling of a parliament: we have not opposed, but rather furthered it. You must know, the council is engaged to assist the King by way of prerogative, in case the parliamentary way should fail. You shall see this parliament will resemble the pelican, which takes a pleasure to dig out with her beak her own bowels. The election of knights and burgesses has been in such confusion of apparent faction, as that which we were wont to procure heretofore, with much art and industry (when the Spanish match was in treaty) now breaks out naturally, as a botch or boil, and spits and spews out its own rancour and venom. That great statesman, the Count of Gundomar, had but one principal means to further his great and good designs, which was to set on King James, that none but the puritan faction, which plotted nothing but anarchy, and his confusion, were averse to this most happy alliance and union. We steered on the same course, and have made great use of this anarchical election, and have prejudicated and anticipated the great one, that none but the King's enemies, and his, are chosen of this parliament. We have now many strings to our bow, and have strongly fortified our faction, and have added two bulwarks more. Now we have planted that sovereign drug Arminianism, which we hope will purge the protestants from their heresy. The materials, which build up our bulwark, are the projectors and beggars of all ranks and qualities: Howsoever, both these factions co-operate to destroy the parliament, and to introduce a new species and form of government, which is oligarchy. These serve as direct mediums and instruments to our end, which is the universal

* Page 75. † Rushworth's Collections, part I. page 474

catholick monarchy. Our foundation must be mutation, and mutation will cause a relaxation, which will serve as so many violent diseases, to the speedy destruction of our perpetual and insufferable anguish of body. The arminians and projectors affect mutation: This we second, and inforce by probable arguments. In the first place, we take into consideration the King's honour, and present necessity; and we shew how the King may free himself of his ward, as Lewis the Eleventh did. As for his great splendour and lustre he may raise a vast revenue, and not be beholden to his subjects, which is by way of imposition of excise. Then our church catholicks proceed to shew the means how to settle this excise, which must be by a mercenary army of horse and foot. For the horse we have made that sure; they shall be foreigners and Germans, who will eat up the King's revenues, and spoil the country, though they should be well paid. In forming the excise, the country is most likely to rise; if the mercenary army subjugate the country, then the soldiers and projectors shall be paid out of the confiscations; if the country be too hard for the soldiers, then they must consequently mutiny, which is equally advantageous to us; our superlative design is, to work the protestants as well as the Roman catholicks to welcome in a conqueror.

All this is confirmed by the testimony of the Earl of Clarendon: 'The papists *, says that illustrious historian, who had for many years enjoyed a great calm, grew unthrifty managers of their prosperity: They appeared more publickly; entertained and forced conference more avowedly, than had been known before. They were known not only secret authors, but open promoters of the most grievous projects. The priests had forgot their former modesty and fear, and were as willing to be known, as listened to: Insomuch as a jesuit at Paris, designing for England, had the impudence to visit the ambassador there, and offering his service, acquainted him with his intended journey, as if there had been no laws for his reception. And, shamefully to countenance the whole party, an agent from Rome resided at London in great state. They had publickly collected money to a considerable sum, to be by the Queen presented, as a free gift from his catholick subjects to the King, towards carrying on the war against the Scots, which drew upon them the rage of that nation. In a word, they behaved themselves so, as if they had been suborned by the Scots, to destroy their own religion.'

Let us now listen to a foreign † historian, who has published his revolutions of England, with the particular approbation of the late King James, and who, being a jesuit, cannot be suspected of partiality to the protestants. 'The Scots, says he, finding themselves so strongly supported, had no sooner received an answer from the court, than there arose a thousand confused voices, crying out that all was lost; that the King, not contented with having taken away from the two nations both their liberties and goods, designed to lay a yoke on their consciences, and make an absolute change in religion. These complaints had not moved the generality of people, nor rendered the government sufficiently odious, according to the wishes of the discon-

* History of the Rebellion, part I. book II. † Father D'Orleans, his Revolutions of England. Vol. III. pag. 29.

tented, had it not been insinuated besides, that the King made great advances to popery, and resolved to make his subjects embrace it Nothing was more false than this report. Charles was a protestant by inclination, and never loved the Roman catholicks; but that very repor. tho' false, had such appearances of truth, as made it easily believed. We must do the Queen the justice to say, that she had, during all her life, a true zeal for the restoration of the catholick faith in England, and for the honour of the King her husband: but it cannot be denied, that sometimes she practised that zeal with somewhat more imperiousness, than the time allowed. Acted by that spirit, which results from the blood of those absolute monarchs, of whom their subjects require no other reason for their commands, than their will, she did not sufficiently consider, that she reigned in a country, where the most solid reasons are not always able to make the people follow the opinion of those who govern them. So limited an authority, and which must be managed with art, was looked on by the Queen as a slavery, from which she used all her endeavours to free the King her husband and herself. Therefore, without much regarding the nicety of the nation, she had constantly near her a nuncio from the pope, of whose character and functions none at court were ignorant. She entertained an open correspondence with the popish lords; she loudly, and sometimes roughly, made herself a party in any thing wherein the Roman church was concerned; and having with her a great number of ecclesiasticks, who had been restored to her by the peace, and who, some of them, had more piety than prudence, she had frequent disputes with the most zealous protestants, wherein the King, who loved her tenderly, indulged her humour, and even took her part, when she desired it of him. This conduct of Charles, in relation to his Queen, had already made him suspected of not being too good a protestant, whatever he did to appear such, when the zeal he shewed for the undertaking of Archbishop Laud, viz. the introducing the English liturgy in Scotland, increasing that suspicion, gave occasion to his enemies to publish, that he was a Roman catholick, and that, in concert with that prelate, he made it his business to reconcile England to the see of Rome. The conduct of Laud was such as made these suspicions probable: for tho' every body agrees now, that, like the King his master, he was a zealous stickler for the protestant sect, yet there was then reason not to think so of him, by the fondness that prelate had for ceremonies; by the advice he gave to young students, to read the fathers, rather than the protestant divines; by his denial to admit the decisions of the synod of Dort; and much more than all this, by the conduct of the Earl of Strafford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, his intimate friend, and confident of all his designs. —— That prelate had procured him the government of Ireland, in hopes he should second his projects; and that Lord wisely foreseeing that Laud would raise all the presbyterians against the King, raised an army in that island, to maintain the royal authority; and though he was a protestant, as well as his master and friend, he had done the Roman catholicks the honour to believe them better affected to their prince, than the rest: and therefore had composed his army of them.'

What the jesuit advances concerning Archbishop Laud, may be further illustrated by what Dr. Welwood says * of that prelate, 'That scarce any age has produced a man, whose actions and conduct have been more obnoxious to obloquy, or given greater occasion for it. There was, adds the doctor, one thread that run through his whole accusation, and upon which most of the articles of his impeachment turned: And that was, his inclination to popery, and his design to introduce the Romish religion: of which his immortal book against Fisher, and his declaration at his death, do sufficiently acquit him. And yet not protestants only, but even Roman Catholicks themselves were led into this mistake; otherwise they would not have dared to offer one in his post a cardinal's cap, as he confesses in his diary they did twice. The introduction of a great many pompous ceremonies into the church; the licensing some books that spoke favourably of the church of Rome, and the refusing to license others that were writ against it, were the principal causes of his being thus misrepresented. And, indeed, his behaviour in some of these matters, as likewise in the star-chamber, and high-commission-court, can hardly be accounted for, and particularly his theatrical manner of consecrating Catharine Creed church, in London; which is related at length by Mr. Rushworth, in the second part of his Historical Collections, vol. I. p. 72.

By all these it plainly appears, that the doubts and fears of popery were not groundless, and, according to Dr. Kennet's assertion, 'That they lost an orthodox and most regular prince the hearts of too many of his people; and almost robbed him of the next valuable blessing, his good-name. For, upon his tender compliance with his intirely beloved royal consort, his enemies took advantage to misrepresent him for a papist; though this was a calumny false and malicious.'

In the third place, † Dr. Kennet mentions the jealousies, the thoughts and dread of oppression and illegal power, among the leading causes of the King's murder: for, as he wisely remarks, 'Tyranny and oppression seem in their nature made to hate, and, yet to help forward one another. And former princes did rarely infringe the charter of publick liberties, without hurting themselves, and leaving a wound upon monarchy itself. For the least attempts towards slavery and exorbitant power raised up the appearance of a yoke, that our forefathers were not able to bear, and we are their offspring. Doctor Kennet is far from thinking, that King Charles ever proposed to injure the birth-right of his subjects. But, adds he, how happy had it been for the peace of that reign, if even doubts and suspicions had been wanting, if the body of a good-natured English people had but thought themselves secure in their legal rights and tenures, for then they could never have been seduced into that unnatural rebellion. They must of necessity first believe, that their liberties and estates were in some danger, and, under that prospect and persuasion, they must have been drawn in, for the meaning, at least, of self-preservation. How happy, if no tonnage or customs had been exacted, without a bill to be easily obtained for them! If no awing into loans and benevolence, if no projecting extraordinary supplies,

* Welwood's Memoirs, p. 61. † See his Sermon, p. 15. & seq.

without the readier aid of parliament; and especially if no levying of ship-money to the surprise and burthen of the people, who never had a notion of taxes, but as of money given by their own consent! These hardships (to call them by that name only) did serve to exasperate the minds of the people, and did prepare them by degrees to be led out first in riots and tumults, and then in troops and armies, against their lawful sovereign. And though it is certain, that the King himself did not hastily contrive or command any of those hard measures; but he had his ministers to propose them, and his very judges to approve them; yet, good prince, he answered for the account, and at the foot of it, with invincible patience, paid down his royalty and his life.'

In all this the reverend divine speaks with the most faithful and impartial historians. In this perplexed difficulty, says * one of these: 'At length his council agreed to set that great engine his prerogative on work: many projects were hammered on that forge, but that, which the council stuck closest to, was the issuing of a commission, dated the thirteenth of October 1626, for raising of almost two-hundred thousand pounds by way of loan; and, the more to expedite this levy, the commissioners were instructed to represent to the subjects the deplorable estate of Rochelle. These were plausible insinuations: but all would not smooth the asperity of this illegal tax; Rochelle and all other foreign considerations must stand by, when inbred liberty is disputed; so that the almost moiety of the kingdom opposed it to durance. Upon this account of refusal, prisoners, some of the nobility, and most of the prime gentry, were daily brought in by scores; I might almost say by counties, so that the council-table had almost as much work to provide prisons, as to supply the King's necessities.' "The assessment of the general loan, says † Mr. Rushworth, did not pass currently with the people; for some persons absolutely refused to subscribe their names, or to say, they were willing to lend, if able. Whereupon the council directed their warrant to the commissioners of the navy, to impress those men to serve in the ships ready to go out in his Majesty's service.——The non-subscribers of high rank and right, in all the counties, were bound over by recognisance, to tender their appearance, at the council-table, and performed the same accordingly, and divers of them were committed to prison; but the common sort to appear in the military yard near St. Martin's in the Fields; before the Lieutenant of the Tower of London, by him to be there enrolled among the companies of soldiers; that they, who refused to assist with their purses, should serve in their persons." 'Among the rest ‡, Sir Peter Hayman, refusing to part with loan-money, was called before the lords of the council, and commanded to go into his Majesty's service into the Palatinate.

'Among other means of raising money, says Dr. Welwood ||, that of loan was fallen upon; which met with great difficulties, and was generally taken to be illegal. One Sibthorp, an obscure person, in a sermon preached at the assizes at Northampton, would make his court by asserting not only the lawfulness of this way of imposing money by loan,

* H. L'Estrange's Reign of King Charles, p. 63, 64. † Historical Collections, p. 1, Vol. I. p. 422. ‡ Id. pag. 431. || Welwood's Memoirs, p. 44.

but that it was the indispensible duty of the subject to comply with it. At the same time Dr. Manwaring, another divine, preached two sermons before the King at Whitehall, in which he advanced these doctrines, viz. "That the King is not bound to observe the laws of the realm, concerning the subjects rights and liberties; but that his royal word and command, in imposing loans and taxes without consent of parliament, does oblige the subject's conscience, upon pain of eternal damnation. That those, who refused to pay this loan, did offend against the law of God, and became guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion. And that the authority of parliaments is not necessary for raising of aids and subsidies."

'Every body knew that Abbot was averse to such doctrines: and, to seek an advantage against him, Sibthorp's sermon, with a dedication to the King, was sent him by order of his Majesty to license. Abbot refused, and gave his reasons in writing; which Bishop Laud answered, and with his own hand licensed both Sibthorp's and Manwaring's sermons. Upon this Archbishop Abbot was confined to his country house, and suspended from his function; the administration of which was committed to Bishop Laud, and some others of his recommendation.'

How happy had it been for King Charles, if, in his time, instead of such divines as Sibthorp and Manwaring, none had ascended the pulpits, but men of the principles of Dr. Kennet, who has a right notion of our English constitution; 'which, if carefully preserved, holds out in the most regular health and safety; but, if once put out of order, it is hard to set right again!'

Let us now attend how the Earl of Clarendon relates * the grievances and oppression of this reign: 'The proclamation, says he, issued out at the dissolution of the second parliament, afflicted many good men so far, that it laid their ears open to the insinuations of those who made it their business to infuse an ill opinion into men, that by it the King declared, he really intended we should have no more parliaments; and, the danger of such an inquisition being by this notion removed, ill men were not only encouraged to all license, but even those who had no propensity to ill, imagining themselves above the reach of ordinary justice, learned by degrees to look on that as no fault, which was like to find no punishment. Provisional acts of state were formed to supply defect of laws; so tonnage and poundage, which had absolutely been refused to be settled by parliament, were collected upon merchandise by order of the council-board; antiquated laws were revived, and with rigour executed;— The law of knighthood, which, tho' founded in right, was in the method of its execution very grievous; the laws of the forest, by virtue of which, not only great fines were imposed, but yearly rents designed, and like to have been settled by contract; and lastly, for an everlasting supply upon all occasions, a writ directed in form of law to the sheriff of every county in England, to send a ship amply provided for the King's service; and with an instruction, that, instead of a ship, such a sum of money should be levied upon each county; with directions, how those that were refractory should be proceeded against, from

* History of the Rebellion, part I. book I.

whence that tax was called ship-money, were not the only unjust, scandalous, and ridiculous projects at that time set on foot.---And here the use the judges were put to in this, and like acts of power, redound much to the mischief and damage of the crown and state, in whose integrity and innocence the dignity of the laws mainly resided; the mysteries of which, when they had measured by the standard of what they called 'general reason,' and explained by the wisdom of state, they justly deserved that irreverence and scorn, with which the House of Peers afterward used them.

'Though the nation, in general, bore no ill-will to the church, either in the point of doctrine or discipline, yet were they jealous that popery was not sufficiently discouraged, and were easily persuaded to believe any thing they had not been used to, and which they called innovation, was admitted purely to please the Papists. The archbishop * had all his life-time vigorously opposed Calvin's doctrine, and thereupon his enemies called him a Papist.---He retained, when he came into authority, too sharp a memory of those by whom he had been persecuted; and was but too guilty himself of the same passion he complained of in his adversaries; that, as they accused him of popery, for maintaining some doctrinal points they disliked, so he looked on some persons as enemies to the discipline of the church, because they agreed with Calvin in some points of doctrine. He was a man of great courage and resolution, and resolved to make the discipline of the church felt, as well as spoken of, applying it without any respect of persons, as much to the greatest, as meanest offenders. There were three persons, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, most notorious for their avowed malice to the government of the church, which in their several writings they had published. One of them was a divine, the other a common lawyer, and the third a doctor of physick; and, though neither of them had any interest or esteem with the worthy part of their several professions, yet, when they were all sentenced and exposed like common rogues upon scaffolds, to have their ears cut off, and their faces and foreheads branded with red-hot irons, men began no longer to consider their manners, but the men, and each profession imagined their education, degree, and quality, had raised them above the reach of such infamous judgments, and treasured up wrath for the time to come.'

'The convocation,' says the same author in another place †,' was, after the dissolution of the last parliament, continued by a new writ, and sat under the proper name of a synod; made canons, which men thought it might do, and gave subsidies, and enjoined oaths, which, without doubt, it could not do; in a word, did several things, which, in the best of times, might have been questioned, and were therefore certain to be condemned in the worst; and drew the same prejudice upon the whole body, to which only some particular clergymen were before exposed.

'The high-commission court was erected in the first year of Queen Elisabeth, and was of great use for the maintaining the peace and dignity of the church, while it was exercised with moderation. But, of late, the great power of some bishops at court, had made it overflow its

* Laud. † History of the Rebellion, Book II.

banks, and thereupon gained it many enemies. The Star-Chamber Court was of late grown so exorbitant, that there were few persons, who had not suffered by it. For they had enlarged their jurisdiction, from the cognisance of riot, perjury, and the most notorious misdemeanors, to the vindicating all proclamations and orders of state, to the maintaining illegal commissions and grants of monopolies, so that no man was free from the lash of it, any longer than he resolved to submit to those, and such like extraordinary courses.

Fourthly, among the causes that conspired in the murder of King Charles the First*, Dr Kennet mentions 'the growth of immorality and prophaneness, which were unhappily objected to the reign of this prince, though he was himself a very devout and conscientious prince. And really, adds that reverend divine, it was no wonder, if, under the covert of popery, a spirit of prophaneness did more sensibly obtain. It is not want of charity to say, what we see with our eyes, that the principles of popery are adapted to a looseness in morals; and that therefore the general practice of the members of that church is strict in nothing but little outward observations. We are not to believe all the complaints that serious persons made of the dissoluteness of the King's army at that time. It was a juster objection †, that the prophaneness of the English stage began then to be more scandalous, than it had been in former times. So very scandalous, that, in pure indignation, a learned tract was written against this growing evil, or, as in its own title, against the intolerable mischiefs and abuses of common plays and play-houses. But this reproof of impiety did so offend the French party, and made them so incense the Queen, that the author, Mr. Prynne, was prosecuted and stigmatised for it, with a severity that was thought to be cruel.'

All this is confirmed by the testimonies of historians. 'In the year 1618, says H. L'Estrange (in his annals ‡ of King Charles's reign) King James published a declaration, tolerating sports on the Lord's day, called Sunday. This declaration then caused so many impetuous clamours against it, as it was soon after called in; and was, this October (1633) revived and ratified by King Charles. The express design of this was, to restore the feasts and dedications of churches, commonly called wakes, to their ancient solemnity, and to allow the use of lawful pastimes in the lower row upon that day. It was also argued in favour of it, that there was in the kingdom a potent tendency in many to Judaism, occasioned by the dangerous doctrine of several puritans, especially of one Theophilus Brabourn, an obscure and ignorant school-master, asserting the perpetual and indispensable morality of the sabbath of the fourth commandment. Again, in others no small inclination to popery, occasioned by the rigour and strictness of sabbatharian ministers, in denying people recreations on the Sunday. But all these plausible insinuations operated little to a welcome entertainment. Nor was there any one royal edict, during all King Charles's reign, resented with equal regret. The fault was least his Majesty's, and not only ill counsel, but ill custom was to blame. For, too true it is, the divinity of the Lord's day was

* See his Sermon, p. 22, 23. † Hist. Mastix, 1633. ‡ p. 128, 129.

then new divinity at court, where, the publick assemblies once over, the indulgence of secular employment and recreations was thought so little disservice to God, as not only civil affairs were usually debated at the council table, but also representations of masques were rarely on no other than sabbath nights. And all this fomented by both doctrine and practice of men very eminent in the church; which seemed the greater prodigy, that men, who so eagerly cried up their own orders, and revenues, for divine, should so much decry the Lord's day for being such, when they had no other existence, than in relation to this.'

'Prophaneness, says * another author, too much abounded every where. Luxury in diet, and excess, both in meat and drink, was crept into the kingdom in an high degree, not only in the quantity, but in the wanton curiosity. And, in the abuse of those good creatures which God had bestowed upon this plentiful land, they mixed the vices of divers nations, catching at every thing that was new and foreign. As much pride and excess was in apparel, almost among all degrees of people, in new fangled and various fashioned attire; they not only imitated, but excelled, their foreign patterns, and, in fantastical gestures and behaviours, the petulances of most nations in Europe.

'The clergy, says † the same writer, were wholly taken up in admiration of the King's happy government, which they never concealed from himself, as the pulpit gave them access to his ear; and not only there, but at all meetings, they discoursed with joy upon that theme; affirming confidently, that no prince in Europe was so great a friend to the church as King Charles; that religion flourished no where but in England; and no reformed church retained the face and dignity of a church but that. Many of them used to deliver their opinion, that God had therefore severely punished the Palatinate, because their sacrilege had been so great in taking away the endowments of bishopricks. Queen Elisabeth herself, who had reformed religion, was but coldly praised, and all her virtues forgotten, when they remembered how she cut short the bishoprick of Ely. Henry the Eighth was much condemned by them, for seizing upon the abbies, and taking so much out of the several bishopricks. To maintain therefore that splendor of a church, which so much pleased them, was become their highest endeavour, especially after they had gotten, in the year 1633, an archbishop after their own heart, Dr. Laud. Not only the pomp of ceremonies was daily increased, and innovations of great scandal brought into the church; but, in point of doctrine, many fair approaches were made towards Rome; as he, that pleases to search, may find in the books of Bishop Laud, Montague, Heylyn, Pocklington, and the rest. And, as their friendship to Rome increased, so did their scorn to the reformed churches beyond the seas; whom, instead of sending that relief and succour to them, which God had enabled this rich island to do, they failed in their greatest extremities, and, instead of harbours, became rocks to split them. Archbishop Laud, who was now grown into great favour with the King, made use of it especially to advance the pomp and temporal honours of the clergy, procuring the lord treasurer's place for Doctor

* May's History of the Parliament of England, Book I. p. 19. † Book I. p. 22, 23, 24.

Juxon, bishop of London; and endeavouring, as the general report went, to fix the greatest temporal preferments upon others of that coat: Insomuch as the people merrily, when they saw that treasurer, with the other bishops, riding to Westminster, called it the church triumphant. Doctors, and parsons of parishes, were made every where justices of peace, to the great grievance of the country in civil affairs, and depriving them of their spiritual edification. The archbishop, by the same means which he used to preserve his clergy from contempt, exposed them to envy; and, as the wisest could then prophesy, to a more than probability of losing all: As we read of some men, who, being foredoomed by an oracle to a bad fortune, have run into it by the same means they used to prevent it. The like unhappy course did the clergy then take to depress puritanism, which was to set up irreligion itself against it, the worst weapon which they could have chosen to beat it down; which appeared especially in point of keeping the Lord's Day; when not only books were written to shake the morality of it, as that of 'Sunday no Sabbath,' but sports and pastimes of jollity and lightness permitted to the country people upon that day, by publick authority, and the warrant commanded to be read in churches; which, instead of producing the intended effect, may credibly be thought to have been one motive to a stricter observance of that day; and many men, who had before been loose and careless, began, upon that occasion, to enter into a more serious consideration of it, and were ashamed to be invited, by the authority of churchmen, to that which themselves, at the best, could but have pardoned in themselves, as a thing of infirmity. The example of the court, where plays were usually presented on Sundays, did not so much draw the country to imitation, as reflect, with disadvantage, upon the court itself; and sowre those other court pastimes, and jollities, which would have relished better without that, in the eyes of all the people, as things ever allowed to the delights of great princes. The countenancing of looseness and irreligion was, no doubt, a great preparative to the introducing of another religion: And, the power of godliness being beaten down, popery might more easily by degrees enter. And tho' it were questionable, whether the bishops and great clergy of England aimed at popery, it is too apparent, such was the design of Romish agents; and the English clergy, if they did not their own work, did theirs. A stranger of that religion, a Venetian gentleman, out of his own observations in England, will tell you, how far they were going in this kind. His words are, "The universities, bishops, and divines of England do daily embrace Catholick opinions, tho' they profess it not with open mouth, for fear of the puritans. For example, they hold that the church of Rome is a true church; that the Pope is superior to all bishops; that to him it appertains to call general councils; that it is lawful to pray for souls departed; that altars ought to be erected: In fine, they believe all that is taught by the church, but not by the court of Rome."

'By all these it is very* evident, that the liberty, and the delight, then taken in plays and opera's, did help sadly to corrupt the minds and

* Dr. Kennet's Sermon, p. 28.

manners of our people, and to let in that looseness and irreligion, which served to suggest the wickedness and villainies, soon after acted in the civil war.

Fifthly, and lastly, 'Dr. Kennet justly * reckons hypocrisy as another lamentable cause of King Charles's murder: for, no doubt, many sincere Christians came in with a good meaning to one side of the unhappy quarrel, as well as to the other. But the prime engines, and the workers of them, on the prevailing side were most of them men of craft, and dreadful dissemblers with God and heaven. What artificial fasts! What procuring prayers! What deluding speeches! What abuse of holy scripture! What a noise of cursing Meroz, of fighting the Lord's battles, of binding Kings in chains, &c.! Nay, and how, at last, was the fatal blow given, by an utmost stretch in hypocrisy, by one † commander putting off ‡ another, more tender and loyal, with a sham pretence of seeking God in prayer, while, in the mean time, the royal blood was shed, and the other's plea, to spare it, was then to no purpose.'

All parties allow, that Cromwell was the chief promoter of the King's murder; and that hypocrisy was his characteristical quality, is also acknowledged by all. 'His whole army, says Sir Philip Warwick, in his || memoirs, was of men who had all either naturally the phanatick humour, or soon imbibed it. A herd of this sort of men, being by him drawn together, he himself, like Mahomet, having transports of fancy, and withal a crafty understanding, knowing, that natural principles, tho' not morally good, will conduce to the attainment of natural and politick ends, made use of the zeal and credulity of these persons, teaching them that they engaged for God, when he led them against the King. And these men habited more to spiritual pride, than carnal riot, or intemperance, so, consequently, having been industrious and active in their former professions, where natural courage wanted, zeal supplied its place; and, at first, they chose rather to die than fly; and custom removed fear of danger; and afterwards finding the sweet of good pay, and of opulent plunder, and of preferment, the lucrative part made gain seem to them a natural member of godliness.

'The bloody independents, says the same § author, drew the curtain, and shewed how tragical their design had been from the beginning. There are no words in the army, but that the King had been a man of blood, and therefore must be presented to blood.

'If the puritans, says the ** French historian, I quoted before, adventured on this blow, it was only in expectation of an occasion to attempt a more decisive one, by extinguishing the royal authority, with which episcopacy should fall. I say the royal authority, not the King's person and dignity: for we must do the puritans the justice to own, that they never intended to carry their crime so far; and that they only prepared the victim, which a more bloody sect sacrificed. ——— It is hard †† to determine when this inhuman design was formed by the sect of the independents, for so they were called, because they pretended to carry the evangelical liberty further than the puritans. These new sectaries were at first no otherwise distinguished from the presbyterians, than, (as, in

* See his Sermon, p. 23, 24, 25. † Cromwell. ‡ Lord Fairfax. || p. 252. § p. 309.
** Father D'Orleans's Revolutions of England, Vol. III. p. 42. †† p. 112. 113.

all religious societies, the zealous and fervent are distinguished from the lukewarm, and the strict from the remiss) by a greater averseness to pompous ceremonies and pre-eminences in church and state; by a greater zeal to reduce the practice of the gospel to its pristine purity; by prayers, conversations, and discourses, which seemed to be the result of enthusiasm and inspiration. Their opinions about independency (for they rejected not only bishops, but even synods) procured them a peculiar appellation, and rendered them suspected to the presbyterians, with whom they had some disputes. But, notwithstanding this opposition, the independents, adding artifice, flattery, promises, and good offices to their affected air of sanctity, made such a progress, that they formed a numerous sect of those that had been imposed upon by their hypocrisy; and a formidable faction of ambitious and mercenary men, whom they gained in all the other sects, by their address and policy. It was one among the latter, who afterwards became the chief of the whole cabal, and who was so already, without being taken notice of. A man born without any natural propensity to evil, or any inclination to virtue; having an equal facility to practise all virtues, and to commit all crimes, according as either suited with his designs. By this stroke, Oliver Cromwell will easily be known. His excellent talent for war, already so fatal to the King's party, having added much lustre to his qualification for business, gained him such ascendant over all those of his faction, that he was become the very soul of it. Modesty and devotion, which, of all the virtues he wanted, were those he could best dissemble, had the more solidly established that superiority, as it gave the least offence to the independency professed by that sect, in a man who seemed not to affect it, but rather to have nothing in view, besides the good of religion and the publick.'

Thus it appears, from all the irrefragable testimonies already cited, That, with plainness of truth, the Reverend Dr. Kennet has enquired into, and marked the most visible causes of the civil war, which ended in the murder of King Charles.

Since, by laying before us the true causes of that unnatural civil war, which terminated in the destruction of the monarchy, and the martyrdom of the monarch, he wisely cautions both those who govern, and those who are governed, carefully to avoid any thing that might tend to break, or hurt, our present happy constitution, which God preserve.

A

TRUE DESCRIPTION AND DIRECTION

Of what is most worthy to be seen in all Italy,

ORDERLY SET DOWN,

And in sure manner, as that the Traveller may not oversee or neglect any thing that is memorable in those Countries, but may compass that Journey at an easy and reasonable Charge, and in a short Time, signifying how many Miles from one place to another as followeth: First, what is to be seen principally in Venice, and from thence to Rome, Naples, Sicily, and until you come to Malta, from thence back again another Way to Genoa, and Milan.

MS.

VENICE.

THE city of Venice hath sixty-two parish churches, and forty-one monasteries of friars and nuns. There are, in Venice, as many channels as streets, over which there are eight-hundred open bridges to pass.

The city of Venice is, in circuit, eight Italian miles; and, although it lies in the sea, yet, nevertheless, it is defended from the raging waves thereof, by a natural bank under the water, compassing the city round about, like unto a constant wall, which repels the storms of the sea, that they cannot assail the city; there are about the city twenty-five islands inhabited by spiritual persons.

When you come to Venice, enquire for the White Lion, or Black Cattle, or else for the Wletta, where (in my time being there) dwelt an host, named Signior Bongratz, which is the chiefest of the three: there you shall have one appointed to go with you, or else take a gondola, and row to the arsenal, or house of artillery.

The House of Artillery.

Before you go to the arsenal, or house of artillery, you must crave licence to see the same, of certain particular gentlemen, deputed to have the custody thereof; and, as then, you must leave your weapons in the porter's lodge, until you come out again.

When you are within, there will be one appointed to go about with you; but my council is, that you provide yourself with single money,

to bestow here and there, according to the custom. First you go ove a bridge, through which the ships and gallies do pass, which are to go to sea; over against that, there is a house, wherein are two-hundred persons daily, who do nothing else but make corslets and harness, that are used in the ships and gallies.

Another house, hard by that, wherein there are daily working two-hundred persons, making nothing but anchors, and other irons, for the gallies and great ships. A little farther, you shall be led into a cellar, wherein are sixty great vessels, filled with wine, which they give to the workmen, as much as they desire to drink, every day, and you also may drink as much as you please.

Moreover, there are six extraordinary great galleasses, which have been in the battle of Lepanto.

There are also forty-six galleasses, all ready furnished, save only two, laying the ordnance thereupon. Right over-against that, you shall be led into a gallery, about five-hundred paces long; therein are made the cables and ropes for the ships and gallies; hard by that, is another house, in which are forty kettles and ovens, to make salt-petre; bestow there to drink.

Then, a little back again, there is a great house, in which there are two rooms; in the first, is all manner of furniture to arm seventy-four thousand men into the field; here also give to drink. In the other room, there are long guns, pikes, and other armour, to furnish into the field one-hundred and seventy-four thousand men; give to drink. Coming down again, you shall see, in another room, six-hundred pieces of great ordnance, lying on wheels; also, hard by, a mortar, that carries a bullet of six-hundred pounds weight.

Hard by that room, there is another, wherein do lie as many bullets and ordnance, as will serve for two-hundred gallies, which are all ready to be used; drink-money more; there are bullets and ordnance to furnish thirty-six galleasses, there pertaining to every galeass forty-eight pieces of ordnance. Drink-money.

A little further, there is another house, where are three-hundred pieces of ordnance, which were won from the Turks in the Armada, together with the colours, and twenty-four bells of the Low-Countries; drink-money.

The galleasses are in length thirty-seven paces, and the gallies thirty.

When you have gone about, and seen the gallies, you shall come to the extraordinary brave ship, Bucentauro, which is painted within and without, and richly overgilded. Therein are excellent fine benches made, on which may easily sit two-hundred persons. In that ship doth the Duke of Venice, together with the whole signiora, or council, go, in long crimson-velvet gowns, every year on the Ascension-day, in great triumph, and princely state, to the sea, to a port near a strong fort called Alio: and there the duke doth wed himself to the sea with a very rich and costly ring, for an established dominion. The ring is given to a page of honour, who casteth it into the sea, and, as then, the duke returns home again, and, from the two strong forts, is rung a main peal of ordnance for joy. When a duke is chosen, no man man know to whom

the election will fall, for it is done by lots, and, therefore, bootless for any covetous man to strive for it, by bribing or gifts.

As you go forwards, you shall see a great house, under which are three rooms; therein may easily be made ready two-hundred ships and gallies with sails. Drink-money.

Go up the stairs, and you shall come into a room, wherein are two-hundred old women, daily mending old sails, and sometimes, when need requires, there are seven-hundred daily working.

Further, there are three rooms, one above another; therein may be furnished and armed twenty-thousand men to sea, and there you shall see an admirable number of old harness, used in former times.

Then enquire for the great hall, called Real, in which the lords, in times past, did use to sit in council, but now used for stately banquets and feasts, when some great potentate or prince comes thither.

In the said hall, you shall see fitz-bows, corslets, and broad rapiers, together with other weapons, sufficient to arm two-hundred thousand men; and also, you shall see the colours, which were gotten from the common enemies of Christendom, the Turks.

Not far from thence is a house, wherein do lie so many oars, ready made, as will serve for eighty gallies.

Further, another house, wherein are oars, ready made, for above one-hundred gallies, which were used in the armada aforesaid; on every oar must row eight or nine persons. In the same house, the signiora did sit in council, because the duke's palace was set on fire, by lightning, or a thunderbolt.

There are two-hundred good and sound gallies, all ready furnished, save only the ordnance to be laid therein, and so put out to sea; and also about two-hundred and fifty, which are daily repaired, and made ready. Drink-money.

In this house of artillery, are twelve great towers, upon which there is kept the watch every night; and, every hour, there goeth a gentleman (appointed by the lords) the round, with thirty six sufficient armed men, about the house of artillery, to visit the sentinel. The house of artillery is compassed round about with walls, and other buildings, like unto a strong town.

In the same, there are four-hundred masters and servants, who continually do make great ships, and prepare them to be ready. There are belonging to this house of artillery eight thousand persons, fit for all manner of trades. This house of artillery, in my opinion, is as big as the city Canterbury. Now it will be time for you to go home to your lodgings, friendly taking leave at the gates, and, with thanks, bestowing some such reasonable reward, as to the company of gentlemen-travellers, who went in with you, may be found fitting. And thus much concerning the incomparable house of artillery in Venice.

Hereafter follows what is chiefly to be seen within the City of Venice.

Go forward from the house of artillery to the water, or channel, and there you shall see many brave and great ships of war.

Not far from thence, a great house, built only to make biskets for the gallies. Therein are fifty ovens, and all Dutch bakers; there pertain to these ovens fifty bakers. but, if it be needful to set out gallies with bread, then there must be one-hundred of them.

Further you will see a new monastery, named Santo Sepulchro, which is naturally like to the holy grave in Jerusalem.

Then you shall come to the Duke's Palace; there take a gondola, and row over to St. George's Monastery, which is built so pleasantly, and with such various cloisters and gardens (which remain winter and summer) as that you have not seen the like; especially the convent-hall, wherein the monks do dine and sup. This monastery hath as great a circuit about it, as a reasonable town.

Over-against that is yellow wax bleached, worthy the seeing. Drink-money.

Then you shall go to the Capuchins Monastery, which, in times past, was built in perpetual memory, at the charge of Prince Nicholo di Ponte, ordered on the day of his death; upon which day, there is yearly made a great ship-bridge, that the people may not be troubled to go so far about thither in pilgrimage to offer.

Then row over the channel to St. Stephen's, where you shall see a great spacious place, and there all duels are fought, being a privileged place, where no serjeant or officer dare meddle with them; and also, hard by the church, there is a stable, besides which there is not one stable more within the whole city of Venice.

After which, going homewards, you may ascend up to St. Mark's steeple, from whence you may very pleasantly behold the whole city. As the King of France came thither out of Poland, he rid up this steeple, with his horse, as high as the bells do hang. It was built anno 1146, at which time the Paduans and Venetians were at wars. The ships may be seen from this steeple thirty miles. After, go into the minting-house, which is hard thereby, as also the library, which you shall take great delight to see. Coming out thence, you will see two great pillars erected, which are cast; between those the malefactors are executed.

Also, just thereby is an extraordinary great house, wherein is kept in store double-baked bisket, ready for any armada which is to be set out to sea; and hard by that house is the place, whereout are delivered all their billets, or passes, that intend to travel.

Then go to the Duke's Palace, and up the stairs you shall see two great statues, or pictures of Adam and Eve, of white marble-stone; and, when you come to the top, there is, on your left hand, a quader-piece, over-gilded and fastened into the wall, on which is written or engraven the manner, day, and hour of the King of France's coming thither out of Poland. Go up higher the stairs, towards the great chamber, wherein is usually held a general council; which, being compleat, consists of sixteen-hundred lords and counsellors, all from the most ancient nobility descended; where they sit in comely order, the duke sitting uppermost, and on each side of him twenty-four clarissimi, or lords, all in long red velvet gowns; out of which one is elected, when the duke dies, and they cast lots for the election.

The upper cieling of this council-chamber is of wood most excellently carved, and richly gilded with pure Zechini gold; the histories and artificial pictures are wrought upon very costly linnen, with oil colours. They do constantly affirm, that this chamber cost above four tons of gold, which, in English money, is above one hundred-thousand pounds sterling. Hard by the same is another chamber, almost like unto it, which sometimes is used for a council-chamber.

This palace of the Duke's, about thirty-two years past, was set on fire by a fiery squall, and burnt; it was covered with lead at that time, but now with copper; for furnishing of which, there were sent for very artificial masters out of Germany. They say, that the covering of this palace cost three hundred-thousand crowns.

When you come out of the palace, you shall see, on St. Mark's place, two columns or pillars of marble-stone erected, which Emanuel, emperor of Greece, sent thither for a present; for, at such time as the Venetians made an agreement with the King of Sicily, the said emperor was much displeased therewith, but afterwards, they having pacified his anger, he presented them with three columns or pillars, two of which stand on St. Mark's Place; the third miscarried, and fell into the water, which could never be recovered again. And, as concerning the other two, there was at that time no man to be found in all their dominions, that could set them up on end; wherefore they made proclamation, that, whosoever could erect them, he should be well rewarded for his pains. Upon which, one came out of Lombardy, who told them, that he would venture his head, that he would set them up on end, if they would let him have such things as were necessary for that purpose, which he had, and did effect it accordingly. And, for his reward, he did desire, that it might be lawful for any man, that would, to play at dice between the said pillars, notwithstanding the dice were false; and also, that the Venetians would give him free dwelling amongst them, with a competent living; all which was granted unto him. If it chanceth, that any man in their jurisdiction doth raise a mutiny with the Turks, or doth attempt any treachery against the city, then there is a gilded pole laid over-thwart the two pillars, and a gilded halter put upon the offender's neck, and he hanged thereupon.

Here I will relate a strange kind of theft, which was done in former times at Venice.

When Borsius, brother to the Duke of Ferrara, came to Venice, and went to see the treasure at St. Mark's, there was a certain Candiot, named Sammatius Scarior, who, being appointed to wait on the Duke, went in also to see the treasure; and, when he saw the riches thereof, he thought with himself by what means he might come secretly unto it, and for that purpose suffered himself to be locked in the treasury; and, making loose a marble-stone in the wall, behind the altar of the innocent children, he carried the dust in his lap, and laid it behind a little pair of dark stairs in the church. By day he went always away, and came again towards evening, so long, until he made a hole into the treasure-chamber; and, in the day-time, he fastened the stone so cunningly into the wall, that no man could mark it. He carried out one rich jewel after another, six nights together, and at las was resolved to take

away the Duke's hat, esteemed at two millions of zechins; which make, in English money, more than seven-hundred thousand pounds. Now there was another Candiot, named Zacharias Cerio, to whom Sammatius opened his business, and shewed him the treasure, and admonished him in any case to keep it close, saying their lives stood upon it. Cerio being at the sight thereof sore astonished, Sammatius stabbed him; but, before, he demanded of Cerio, Why he was astonished in such a fearful manner? Cerio answered, That he was not able to speak for joy. Sammatius said, Make haste, then, and let us be gone; we have riches sufficient to serve our turns all the days of our lives. Cerio said, I will presently prepare myself, and go to inquire after a ship to be gone. But he went and discovered it to the Duke, whereupon Sammatius was apprehended. The next day, a pair of gallows overgilded were set up, between the two pillars, whereon he was hanged, with a gilded rope about his neck.

Over-against the same, at the one corner of the church, is a red porphyry-stone set up, on which there are cut the pictures of the two famous pirates which brought the said treasure to Venice.

Hard by is a round marble-stone they use to lay the heads of proscribed and banished persons.

Then go into the excellent temple or church of St. Mark's, which is underset very curiously with rich and great pillars of divers sorts of colours. The doors and gates of the church are of bell-metal, and about the great door do stand four great horses cast of bell-metal, all over gilded with pure gold, which were ordered to be placed in memory of the Emperor Barbarossa. When you come into the church, on your left-hand, you shall see a crucifix upon an altar, at which (as they say) on a time a certain gamester did throw a stone, whereupon it fell a bleeding, and still every year, on that day, it doth bleed.

Further, upon the ground before the high altar there is a pavement with four-squared streams, of white marble-stone, like unto a natural water, which was likewise so ordered for the aforesaid emperor's sake, which is called a horse-pond. For, as the emperor laid siege to Venice, he made a solemn vow, that, when he had got the city, he would make out of St. Mark's church a stable, and a horse-pond, and would make St. Mark's market-place a ground to sow corn on. In the mean time, it chanced, that the emperor's son was taken prisoner in a skirmish, and brought into Venice. Then the Venetians sent and gave notice thereof to the emperor, and told him, that, unless he would presently raise his siege and be gone, they would shoot his son unto him out of a cannon. At which the emperor was sorely grieved, and desired of the Venetians, that, for the safeguard of the vow which he had made, they would cause St. Mark's place to be plaistered like a corn ground, and that the four horses might be set over the high door, to signify the stable, and also the ground before the high altar to be paved with white marble stone streamed, to betoken the horse-pond; which was all done accordingly, as it is to be seen at this day; whereupon the emperor took his son, raised his siege, and departed.

There are right before the church standing three very high poles, on the top of which they hang three great standards or colours, upon the

holy and feast days, signifying their three kingdoms, viz. Candya, Cyprus, and Venice.

If you desire to see the treasure, you must diligently sollicit the Duke's chamberlain; then you shall go into St. Mark's church, through fou iron doors. So soon as you are gone through each one of them, they shut themselves locked, and you are within; they will shew you two unicorns horns, of which the red is the male, and the yellow the female; then a great carbuncle-stone, which glitters like a candle, three crowns of the kingdoms of the Venetians, twelve pettorali, with oriental stones, amongst which is one standing in the midst, that hath a great saphire and an emerald; two vessels of agate, the one of Chalcedoni, the other of a Turkish; a little granate, a great diamond King Henry the Third, of France, gave the Duke of Venice; a great dish of gold, one ballasso that weighs seven ounces, certain vessels of agate and emeralds, which, in times past, were the Emperor Constantine's, besides many other rich jewels and precious stones, almost not possible to be written in particular, for it is an inestimable treasure; there are especially oriental precious a saphire and an emerald, like unto which there are none to be found.

Further you may desire to see the Duke's private house of artillery, where are rich furniture of gold and silver to arm two-hundred men, a lanthorn all of chrystal, certain apparel come from the New World, and brought thither by the Cyprinenses, and presented to the Duke; then a little coffer, in the opening of which, two pieces, that lie therein, do discharge of themselves, besides divers other curious things. Give something to drink.

The church of St. Mark is held to be more rich and stately, built with extraordinary costly pillars of porphyry and marble-stone, than is Santa Sophia at Constantinople, for there are five most great excellent chapels, or round heathenish towers, covered with copper. When you go from St. Mark's under the great dial, you will come into the Merceria, a long street, on both sides full of shops, furnished with all manner of exceeding rich wares, especially with silks; presently after you shall come to the Dutch house, wherein do dwell Dutch merchants, who give weekly to the duchy, one-hundred zechins.

From the Dutch house you will go over the bridge Rialto, whither all the merchants do resort mornings and evenings. There is also a little church, called Santo Jacobo, which is the ancientest church in Venice, and there was the first house built, and the city was named at that time Venetequa, in English, 'Come hither,' for it was free for every man to build there; and, from that word Venetequa, it is now turned to Venetia.

Then go to Santa Maria Formosa, upon which the Dutch nation are freely privileged to fight out any duel or quarrel.

You may go also to Santo Johanne et Paulo, which is a wonderful fair church and monastery, adorned with excellent fair epitaphs. When you enter in at the door, you shall see on your left-hand the picture of the Virgin Mary, very richly, with ancient histories, fastened into the wall four-square, and the cover over the same, all costly over-gilded.

Right without the church doth sit upon a horse cast of bell-metal, all over gilded with pure ducat gold, Bartholome Coglion of Bergen, captain-general to the Venetians; by whom Padua was taken in for the seigniory of Venice. The said general afterwards, on his death-bed, did earnestly intreat the Venetian state, in any wise hereafter, to discover their secrets to none, as they had done to him, saying, that, if he had been disposed, he could have overcome them. The seignory, for his true service, did cause his statue to be erected there on a horse, as aforesaid.

In the famous city of Venice there are eight-thousand gondolas, and, amongst eight-hundred bridges, there are but two of wood. There are also divers laudable companies, or fellowships, touching which it is not here necessary to write in particular. The principal ones are those, near a monastery called Alli Servi, and by Al Ponte de More.

Further, it is but little a way over to Murano, where the purest chrystal glasses are made. So soon as you land on your left-hand, at a corner house, you shall see a glass-maker that hath a whole castle of chrystal, with ordnance on the bulwarks and bastions, as also towers of defence, which is to be sold for twelve-hundred crowns.

In Murano almost all the inhabitants are glass-makers, appertaining to the Venetians, who have their trading therewith. You shall also see very fair gardens with running water-works, and brave statues, especially one above the rest, belonging to a great gentleman named Emo, now dead, which is wrought so artificially, as is scarce to be believed, unless it be seen.

Then, in rowing home again, you will see a monastery on your left-hand, wonderous fairly built in the water by a Venetian courtesana, whom did love a Venetian gentle *homo*, who lived together like a man and wife; he died before her, and left her all that he had, for which she promised him to build a chapel, in perpetual memory of them both, to have their funerals therein; which chapel cost more than sixty-thousand crowns the building; it is all of white marble-stone, and covered with copper. There are adjoining thereunto four towers of bell-metal; within it is costly set forth, with admirable pictures and histories, of white alabaster oriental, and without are cut out of white marble-stone both their statues or pictures, according to the true proportion of their bodies. After that, she retired herself to a very strict and penitent kind of life, and, before her death, she made her will, having left behind her six-hundred crowns, all which she bestowed upon poor people in hospitals and spittals, and for maintenance of widows and orphans, and appointed a yearly revenue, to that monastery adjoining to the chapel, ever to endure, to the end there might be solemnised yearly vigils for the sake of both their souls.

Hereafter follows what is to be seen between Venice and Ancona, from thence to Santa Maria Loretto; and also how many miles one place is from the other.

You may take a gondola, or ship, and go to Chiozza, a very pleasant town of the Venetians; it lies also in the sea, built with very fair houses.

From thence to Ornaci, an inn, eight miles; then to Coro, an inn, eighteen miles; there you may have horses to hire from Coro to Volani, an inn, eighteen miles; from thence to Magnanaca, an inn, nine miles; that is a very bare and simple lodging; from thence to Primara, an inn, fifteen miles; from thence to Ravenna, twenty miles. Ravenna is an ancient city, which lies on the sea, pertaining to the pope. From thence to Al Savio, an inn, ten miles; from thence to Cesanniro, a little town, ten miles; to Belaere, an inn, fifteen miles; there you may have horses to hire. So to Rimini, a town of the pope's, ten miles; so to Coriano, an inn, eight miles; to Cattolica, an inn, ten miles; to Pesaro, a town, ten miles, which town belongs to the Duke of Urbino, built with very fair and large streets, walls, and bastions, and an exceeding strong castle lying on the sea. It is well provided with all manner of victuals, especially with good wine; the duke hath there a very fair palace, and keeps his court therein; it is a very pleasant place, wherein every thing is to be had at a reasonable rate. From Pesaro to Fano, a town nine miles, belonging to the pope, through which no man must presume to pass, unless he will go on foot; it is a very ancient city. From thence to Sinigallia, nine miles; it is also the said duke's; a very strong castle on the sea border, wherein the duke continually maintains a garrison; from thence to Casa Brusciata, an inn, nine miles; it lies upon the stream of the sea; we received there excellent good entertainment. From thence to Ancona, seventeen miles.

ANCONA.

When you come to Ancona, which is a famous city, you shall see a Porta Triumphal, which the Emperor Adrian caused to be built, for a memorial. This city hath a very fair haven of the sea, like unto which there are not any found; for there are brought together divers sorts of commodities from Sclavonia and the Levant; there are brought also brave Turkish horses, and all manner of wares. There is likewise a great traffick, and they do bring many Moors and Schiavons together, to be sold; and, above the rest, there are no want of Jews that travel to and fro, and also have their dwellings in that city.

In the aforesaid city, doth lie the body of Sant Ciriaci Advocati, buried in a little church on a high rock, which is commonly called Sant Ciriaco; and, when the weather is clear, you may discover from thence Schiavonia, and the ships upon the sea.

This city lies but three miles from Monte Alto, where Pope Sixtus Quintus was born.

The famous city Ancona is adorned with excellent fair buildings, and palaces, well provided of all manner of necessaries, to be bought at a very cheap price, and it is well defended by great walls round about. In like manner there is a strong castle hard above the city, made so invincible with bastions and with ordnance thereupon planted, as that it is, in a manner, impossible to be assaulted or won; and, if in case it were, that the city should be gotten, yet could it not be kept, for, from

the castle, every thing therein would be destroyed. So soon as one pope dies, another is elected; the title of Ancona is written in his stile, for it belongs to the see of Rome.

Santa Maria Loretto.

When you go from Ancona towards Santa Maria Loretto, which is fifteen miles, you will see an extraordinary pilgrimage and devotion; especially, note when you come into a long straight street, which reacheth up to the church, you shall see nothing but shops, wherein are made only pater-noster beads. When you come into the church, you shall see, on both sides, long tables standing, on which there are written directions and admonishments, after what part every body may prepare himself to the confession, on each table being written four several languages, to the end, no man may alledge an excuse, that there is no priest to understand his language, for there is ordered to every table a priest that speaks the same language.

When you approach near the choir, or querry, wherein is the chapel of our Blessed Virgin, which (as they say) was carried thither by the angels from beyond the seas, you shall see a rare building, over or above the said chapel, all of alabaster and marble stone, with excellent histories raised.

And, when you are come into that chapel, you shall see upon the great altar the Blessed Virgin, with the child Jesus in her arms, adorned with so many precious jewels, and lamps of gold and silver burning, that a man can scarce see either the Blessed Virgin, or the child.

Then enquire for the Christia, whereon do lie the male robes; there you shall see, on your right hand, the picture of the Margrave of Baden; and there is written the day on which he came thither, with six persons per post, to his devotions, in the year 1584, because, he, having received a deadly wound by a bullet, in the wars of the Low-Countries, did direct his prayers to the Virgin Mary, for her divine help for his recovery; after his prayers ended, he laid him down in bed. In the morning he felt nothing, but was whole and sound again; whereupon he delayed no time, but posted in all haste to this place, and, for a thanksgiving, presented the Blessed Virgin Mary with twelve-thousand crowns, which is no fable.

Loretto is made very strong with many bastions and walls, with great ordnance, and store of ammunition, so that it is sure enough for the Turks coming thither to carry away their inestimable treasure, which (as they constantly affirm) is valued at above five millions of gold, freely given and presented out of mere devotion.

Now, that which is on the way, between Maria Loretto and Rome, is scarce worth the seeing. I will therefore only describe the ways from once place to another; and, in my opinion, you were better turn back again from Loretto, and take the nearest way to Ferrara, and from thence, the open highway to Rome, whereby, both charges and time may be saved.

The direct way from Loretto to Rome.

From Loretto to Recanata three miles, which is a fine pleasant town, built longwise, on a hill, with fair houses and stately vineyards, planted thereabouts; you need not go through the town, unless you please, but may go hard by the wall. From thence to Macerata, a little pretty town, wherein is an university, fourteen miles; then to Tollentino, a little town, nine miles; then to Alla Mancia, a little town, seven miles; then to Piandignano, an inn, seven miles; thence to Varchiano and Samlet, nine miles; thence to Alla Passo de Spoleto, an inn, eight miles; thence to Spoleto, a fine city, lying on a hill, belonging to the pope; it hath been, in times past, dangerous to travel thereabouts, but now not so, ten miles; from thence to Stretura, an inn, eight miles; thence to Terni, a pleasant town, eight miles; thence to Harni, a strong town, it lies high on the one side, and the river Harni runs hard by it, seven miles; from thence to Ottricolo, a little town, eight miles; not far from this, you must set over the Tyber, nine miles; from thence to Rignano, a very good lodging; here leave an old town, called Civita Castellana, on your left hand, it is thither sixteen miles; from thence to Castal Nuovo, a little town, seven miles; thence to Primo Yorto, an inn, seven miles: from thence to the holy city, Rome, seven miles. This is the way from Loretto to Rome, if you please to go the same; otherwise, you may take it in your return back again from Rome.

Hereafter follows the direct way from Ferrara to Malta, and what is to be seen between them.

FERRARA.

When you are come to Ferrara, lodge at the Bell; they will enquire of you in the gate, what things you carry about you; but tell them, you are scholari, or students; and if you have cloke-bags, or mails, you must bring them into the weigh-house, where they open them.

If you desire to see the city, you must enquire for the Dutch guard; there you shall have one appointed to go about you for a small reward.

First, you go to the Duke's Palace, or castle, that hath four fair towers, upon which do strike two clocks. The palace hath within a fine court four-square, which is very stately set out with the descents of the most famous emperors, and dukes that have governed there; as also it is adorned with excellent fair rooms, and pleasant gardens.

After, let him shew you the duke's garden of pleasure and art, called Bel Vedere, wherein you shall take great delight to see it, insomuch as you shall admire thereat, garnished with pleasant springs, that both winter and summer remain green; all manner of birds, wild beasts, and an extraordinary house of pleasure. Further the house of artillery, adjoining to the duke's palace, wherein are many pieces of great ordnance, worthy to be seen.

The city is furnished with an excellent fair market-place, where all necessaries sufficiently are to be had, espesially all manner of costly fish.

There are also a great number of Jews, and extraordinary fair broad streets, very stately, set out with fair palaces, and excellent brave buildings, and, above all the rest, the city is round about strengthened with strong walls and bastions.

Hereafter follows the way from Ferrara to Bologna.

From Ferrara to Poggio, an inn, nine miles; from thence to Pietro in Casale, six miles; thence to Fundi, a little town, nine miles; from thence to Bologna, nine miles.

BOLOGNA.

Bologna is an exceeding fair city. When you come thither, lodge at the Golden Angel, where you may horse conveniently to Rome. But there will be need of some policy, by reason that many times there are horses de ritorno, so that you may have them for six or eight crowns a-piece, and also men with you, to bear the charges of the horse and yourself, till you come to Rome, without taking care of any thing, but only to eat and drink, to sit up and light; and, in case your horse tires, they must immediately provide you another.

This great and famous city is built with very stately palaces and houses; it hath wonderful fair streets; when it is rainy weather, you may go under the houses, and not be wet at all.

Go towards the governor's palace, who is commonly a cardinal, appointed by the pope to govern; it is an exceeding brave palace, with a large circumference.

The governor keeps continually two-hundred switzers, and a corpet of spear-horsemen to guard his person; they are duly paid their salarium every month.

Every day, about the time of meals, do come the musicians and trumpeters to sound and play, as if he were a temporal prince; they stand without the palace in an open gallery, towards the market-place.

The trumpeters with a kettle drum were, for a memorial, ordained thither by the Emperor Charles the Fifth. The sackbuts and cornets for a memorial, by Pope Gregory the Thirteenth.

The Switzers and horsemen have their dwelling in the governor's palace, and, when he goes out to take the air, they must all attend him as if the pope were there himself.

Right against the market-place, on the outside of the palace, you shall see the statue of the said pope, together with the seat, all of bell-metal.

By the palace is the house of justice or prison, where is given every morning to the offenders the stroppa de corda, in publick view; and

the malefactors are wound up exceeding high, their arms being wrung round about, very fearful to behold.

In this city are great merchandising with silk wares, and silk worms that spin, and they make their principal damask, and, especially, there is an active and brave gentry.

There is also a very pleasant, fair, and great market-place, always provided with all manner of necessaries, at reasonable small rates, whatsoever a man desires.

You shall also see a number of fair and civil gentlewomen in this city, especially those that are nobly descended, who shew themselves very courteous towards strangers. There is continually going up and down with chariots and coaches, day and night. Go also towards the Asses Tower, and you shall see two towers together, which are not above four paces asunder: one of them is four-cornered, raised very high, all of brick, which six men may fathom about, but the heighth is one-hundred and thirty fathom; upon the same is continually the watch kept day and night; the other tower is built on purpose, as if it were falling down, and therefore they were forced to take a great deal of it down, the citizens, that dwelt near thereunto, fearing the fall of the same, and to spoil their houses. It is yet forty fathom high.

This city is called the Mother of Learning, by reason of the famous university therein; but now, for six or eight years, it hath suffered shipwreck, because the governor, which Pope Gregory the Thirteenth set to govern there, did cause a Dutch gentleman, of good rank, to be cast into prison in the night-time, by reason of certain weapons which were found about him, and commanded three stroppa de corda to be given him openly upon the market-place. Wherefore all the Dutch nation departed presently from thence; for which the pope might rather have given many thousand crowns, than that it had been done, about which the governor fell into the pope's high displeasure.

There is not, in all Italy, to be seen such an excellent and fair college as is there, with fine pleasant rooms and pillars of marble stone, wherein no prince may think scorn to dwell, although at this time Padua hath the name; but I like Bologna much better, for every thing is to be had at a low rate.

Right over-against the college is the chiefest church, called St. Petronia, which is exceeding fair, but as yet not finished, neither, as is thought, will be in haste.

Further enquire for St. Dominico, a monastery of Dominican monks; go into it, and, when you come near the door, you shall see an altar wrought with such cunning and art, as that there is not the like to be seen in the universal world. Under that altar doth lie buried St. Dominick; and certainly the monastery is so extraordinary fair, that far and near is not the like. The Dutch nation have their burials therein.

Further do not neglect to see St. Michael, a stately monastery lying on a hill near the city, most worthy to be noted; and, when it is clear weather, a man may see so far as Ferrara. Round about this monastery do grow cypress-trees, like unto a little wood, yielding so excellent a sweet smell, as that a faint heart may be quickened therewith; and

there is a continual resort thither of men and women, as well for pleasure as devotion's sake, for, winter and summer, it remains green all alike.

Further desire to see St. Salvator, which is a monastery of monks, and is the fairest built monastery in all Bologna.

Further St. Francisco, in which there are monks of the Franciscan order, is also well worthy to be seen. And then, if you desire to see artificial and curious altars and pictures, you must go into St. Jacob's church; it is a monastery of the Augustines order. There is in this city to be heard as excellent good musick, as almost in any other place in Italy, especially at St. Celestin's.

The city is wonderous fair, and there runs a fine river through it, called Reno, on which all manner of provision is conveyed into the city. The city is also great and spacious, and, nevertheless, all round about begirt with a marvellous fair wall.

It is credibly reported, that the pope hath every year out of this city three-hundred thousand crowns income.

Hereafter follows the way from Bologna to Florence.

From Bologna to Pianora, a hamlet, eight miles; from thence to Loiano, a hamlet, eight miles; thence to Pietra Mala, a little town, eight miles; thence to Rofreddo, a hamlet, seven.

There the ways do part by a bridge on the left hand, to Pratolino, three miles from thence, on the right hand, the direct way to Florence, where the great duke hath so pleasant a recreation, as is no where else in all Italy to be seen.

PRATOLINO.

When you come thither, enquire if the great duke be there; then go to the gardener or keeper of the palace, and salute courteously, promising him something. First he will lead you above into the palace, which is built four-square; when you come into a room, you shall go right forwards into four rooms which have correspondence into four corners, which are six rooms, among which is one wherein the duke and his duchess do lie, on two beds, when they are there; but those beds are accounted the simplest amongst all the rest, and very low.

The other rooms are exceeding fairly furnished, and adorned with rich and costly arras, of clean gold and silver, wherewith the chambers are hung.

And, according as the hangings are in every chamber, so are likewise the beds hung and trimmed correspondently.

The chambers decked with extraordinary fair statues, pictures, and tables of alabaster, and other rich stones.

Then go also up the stairs, and you shall come into the like rooms, where, in four-squares are sixteen rooms, where beds do stand; the

simplest amongst them did cost furnished ten-thousand crowns. Then you may bestow something upon the keeper's wife, or him that did lead you about.

Further you must go from down a pair of stairs, where you shall see a fair grotto and vaults, richly set with coral, mother of pearl, and other rich stones, fastened into the wall so thick, that a man can scarce see any part of the wall; therein are also tables of marble-stone and alabaster, and also the benches very cunningly wrought, in inlaid work. If a man doth sit down at one of the tables, the water doth spout from below and above, and on every side, as if it rained mainly; and, when one thinks to rescue himself from the wet, then he comes just into the bath, all wringing wet; they spare no man, of what degree soever.

When you come out again, you shall see the garden right before you, like unto a broad street, on both sides, springs of water; the garden is made with all manner of young plants, that are green winter and summer. There is a great tree whereon the duke uses to dine and sup; from that tree, the duke can see both his palaces in the town; the one wherein he keeps his court, the other is called Pithi. Then go right over against the palace, into a garden, and is the duke's chapel, wherein mass is celebrated; it is round like a heathenish temple wainscotted within and without, with cypress wood, and round about there grow cypress trees.

Further you shall see the statue of a water-god of white marble-stone, that hath, in length, four fathom; from him doth fall all the water, that comes into the artificial water-works.

About five miles from Pratolino, there hath been a very fair ground, all green meadows, but on each side, high hills, where the waters do come together; those grounds hath Duke Cosmus the Second caused to be trenched about four miles in circuit, so that it is now like unto a sea, from whence all the waters at Pratolino do spring; from Pratolino, are five miles to Florence.

FLORENCE.

When you come within half a mile of Florence, and are many of you in a company (for it is never otherwise) send one before that is a practicus, to stay for you under the gate of the city, by the customers; then they will enquire of him the cause of his staying there; he may answer, that he stays there for certain students that are coming after on horseback, all wearied, not being used much to riding (for they do look very narrowly, what things passengers do carry about them, whereby much time is lost) but, because they may not be long in searching, put presently a piece of money, into one of their hands, without many words, speaking somewhat boldly to them, and, as then, they will let you pass; there are always many people looking very diligently to the business, and to espy if any thing be found amiss, whereby a man may judge, that much deceitful practice is there used.

When you come into the famous city of Florence, lodge at the Crown; there is also besides a Dutch hostery, called the Fusti, but there is continually used much excess in drinking.

Florence is a most excellent brave city; comparable to the same there is none, neither in Italy, nor elsewhere.

If there be none amongst yourselves that is acquainted with the custom of the city, then desire your host to help you to one, or you may have one of the Dutch guard to go with you.

Then go to the great duke's palace; hard thereby is the Dutch guard. The duke maintains continually one-hundred of them to wait on his person; they dwell all together, and are drawn up to the watch every evening very bravely.

The palace is a famous building, where is a steeple so high, that one would say it is built in the air without foundation. Go into the palace up the stairs on your left hand, and you shall see an extraordinary great hall, wherein the duke doth dine and sup openly; go after that out again, and on your right hand, you shall see also a very great hall; there are every year presents given to the duke on St. John Baptist's day (who is patron to the Florentines): After which is a fine act solemnised, where the duke sits in publick state, and under a tabernacle do sit the states and country townsmen in their order, and colours, the standards bowing themselves before him with such ceremonies as if they were to do homage. Then the duke goes to his palace to dinner, and afterwards the duke sets up a certain prize, about which the common people do dance, at which sport the duke beholds them.

You shall see in this hall very brave statues, and as you come out there is, on your right hand, the duke's natural picture; right before the palace, as you go to the Dutch guard, you will see very fair statues, as artificially made as if they were living. There is also a very fair water-chest or fountain, with stately pictures of bell-metal, as also of marble-stone, continually spirting water, standing exceeding pleasantly upon the fair and great market-place. Then go up over where the statues do stand, where the duke hath a very pleasant garden, and hath caused a water-work to be raised up on high, that it is a wonder, how it was possible for the water to be brought thither. When the duke is disposed to be merry, then he keeps his table there, by reason of the excellent cool air; from thence he hath but a little gallery to go into his palace. From thence go right forward, and you will come into a very long gallery, called Belvedere, which is adorned with most principal statues. On the side of the Belvedere, hath the Duke Cosmus caused a chapel to be built (to which he can go secretly, and not seen, from and to his palace) which is set out with wonderous brave alabaster pictures, with a costly altar, and the said chapel round about ceiled with mother of pearl; under this gallery you shall see, in a prospective glass, an excellent fair room, underset with brave strong pillars, in which is the chancery or council kept; there is in all Italy not the like to be seen. Go also towards the old bridge, called Ponte Vecchio; on the same are built haberdashers shops all over, and there runs a rich navigable river underneath, called the Arno. When you come over that bridge, enquire for the palace, called Pithi, which is an exceeding fair

building, all of square stone, very high and great, built four-cornered, with a court paved all over with square free-stone. There are in the same kingly rooms, and chambers, continually furnished wonderful richly. Thereupon is also a great and brave garden, and therein a little wood, all of cypress trees, where do also grow all manner of meats, for the most costly birds and fowls. The duke hath oftentimes pleasant sport in the same; there grow also all manner of the delicatest fruits, which a man may imagine, and most part of the garden is continually green.

There are also stately fountains therein, with brave and costly statues, and the duke can go over a gallery from thence to his other palace, where he keeps his court, that no man can see him coming; then go back again to a bridge, called Ponte Novo, which is built all of white marble-stone, square pieces.

When you come over that, you shall see, on your left hand, a very great stone pillar, on which sits an angel, with a pair of scales and a sword in his hands, which the great Duke Cosmus erected after he had got the victory of Siena from the Lord Strozzi.

Then, when you go a little more forward, you shall come into the said Peter Strozzi's palace, whereby you will conceive the greatness of that man, and his power, in not fearing to set himself against the duke, intending to have made himself duke. He hath had also more like palaces in the city.

Further go to the palace, called Cassina, where the duke doth maintain all manner of artists of all nations; for the duke taketh great pleasure therein, he himself having learned two or three of those artificial sciences, and doth oftentimes use to work amongst them.

Not far from thence you shall come to a house, wherein are kept certain tame leopards, lions, bears, and other beasts, all which you may see for a small matter bestowed.

NUNCIATA,

Called, our Holy Mother.

There you shall see a great devotion for pilgrimage, in which place there are so many miracles done and seen, as that it is impossible for me to write of them all; only you shall see the true signs and tokens, as they say, of the popes, Emperors, Kings, and princes, and other great persons, who (through their strange faiths, and devout prayers) have been helped and cured. This Nunciata hath also an excellent hospital, into which there are seldom taken any, but only such as have relation to the duke's court; which hospital is a most pleasant place, where the sick are attended with great diligence, and provided with very sweet and cleanly bedding.

Then go out from thence through the straight street, and you shall see the cathedral church, which is a rare building, all of red and white marble-stones, on which is a round steeple, built so straight that no

man would believe it to be so exceeding high; and on the top is a golden globe, or ball, wherein myself, with eighteen persons more, have stood, and, if they would fit themselves handsomely, there may well stand twenty-four. Hard by the said church is another great tower, wherein is a clock; the same steeple or tower is built from the bottom to the top, with marble-stone, and gilt with divers colours; it doth not touch the church, but is built so, that one may go round about it. Right against the church is a round temple, called St. John, the Florentine patron, which temple hath three doors, or gates of bell-metal, with exceeding fair raised figures, and histories, and especially there is cast upon the same the whole Old Testament; they do confidently affirm that the same does come from Jerusalem.

Then, going towards your lodging, the Crown, there is not far off the church of St. Laurentio, wherein is buried Queen Johanna of Austria, the Emperor Maximilian's daughter, wife to the great Duke Cosmus, together with her children, where you shall see a wonderful fair epitaph. By reason of the death of this great princess, the poor people in the city were driven to an extreme lamentation, and sorrowful bewailing, for they lost a mother of her; she, having presented unto her, from the prince her husband yearly, twelve-thousand crowns for a new year's gift, did not make use thereof, for any lust or pleasure, but did distribute the same altogether, for God's sake, to the said poor. In this church are to be seen the epitaphs of the Dukes of Florence and their predecessors, as also an excellent Bibliotheca of four-thousand eight-hundred written books in parchment, very fairly bound.

This city is built with stately palaces and very fair houses; the streets are wonderous fair, and paved all with four-square stones that no filth or uncleanness may abide thereon, and, though it rains much, within one quarter of an hour it is dry again. The city is also furnished with all manner of trades and merchandises, and especially with silks, and costly rich cloth of gold and tissue, which are made there, comparable to which there are none in all Italy. There do also frequent a valiant sort of knights and gentry, which are employed in service against the common enemies the Turks. You shall also see there two very strange castles or forts; the one lies on a plain ground near the city wall; the other on a high hill upon the city; wherein are in garison all Spaniards, it being so ordered by Charles the First, Emperor, that the Duke Cosmus should maintain only Spaniards; which is observed to this day, and no other nation may be entertained therein.

Here followeth the way to High Siena.

From Florence to Casciano, a little town, eight miles; from thence to Barbatino, four miles; from thence to Tavernelle, a little town, four miles; from thence to Poggioponzo, a little town, that lies under a fort named Poggis imperiale, four miles; from thence to Staggia, a little town, four miles; from thence to High Siena city, six miles.

HIGH SIENA.

An exceeding fair city lying on a high ground, fastened in round about with strong walls. When you come into the city, lodge at the Golden Angel, where you will find good and stately entertainment; and, if you desire horses to Rome, you may have them at return for a small matter, and those that will bear your charges, till you come to Rome. Go to the market-place, which is wide and fair, and a water-chest, at the upper end; take a diligent view of that water-chest; as you go along out of the market-place, you shall perceive it like unto a Jacob's muscle, by reason of the red bricks wherewith the place is paved, and pieces of white marble stone mingled amongst them, that it doth naturally resemble a muscle. Then go to the head and principal church called Domo or Cathedral, which is so richly built, that, in all Italy, is scarce the like, all of white and black marble-stone within and without, and a steeple like unto it, so that a man may say, the whole building is like a costly jewel, by reason of the pleasant and rich materials thereof. And therein you shall see all the popes lively pictured, and the church adorned with very fine altars; and against the church is an especial fine hospital, where the poor pilgrims and other strangers are harboured and entertained with good and wholsome meat and drink, sweet bedding, and other necessaries, three days and three nights freely. There goes a great charge and expence thereupon, and, in case the yearly income will not serve, then the city must give supply. The city is plentifully served with all manner of good victuals; partridges, pheasants, hares, and all sorts of fowl, are to be had for a small matter; especially, the students, where they board, are very excellently well served with all courteous and affable behaviour. There is also exceeding good wine, and fine bread; the wine, in summer time, being so cool, that a man can scarce drink it, when they first bring it out of the cellar, but it must stand a while.

There is not, in all Italy, spoke the language more pure than in this city and thereabouts; the plain country swain delivers it as elegantly, as the chiefest in the city. And, above other things, I may not forget to praise the exceeding beauty and well favouredness of the women kind in this place, being wonderous well fitted for kind and lovely conversation, graced with comely apparel, and, especially, they are in general skilful in riding, and do sit well on horseback. You shall also see a brave university, frequented by all nations, many noble persons living there, for their learning's sake, and more of the Dutch nation, than any other. There is also just on the city a marvellous strong castle, or fort, which the great Duke Cosmus caused to be built, as he had brought this city under his power, and overthrown Lord Peter Strozzi; which castle is sufficiently furnished with great ordnance and all manner of ammunition, against which the citizens cannot lightly rebel; the garison is all of Italian soldiers. And, let it rain never so fast or long, it is dry again, throughout the whole city, within the space of half an hour.

Hereafter follows the way from High Siena to Rome.

From Siena to Lucignano, a little town, six miles; thence to Buon Convent, a little town, five miles; thence to Vornieri, a little town, seven miles; from thence you may see the exceeding strong fort, called Monte Alcinoo, three miles; on the side, when you come to Fornieti, do not lodge at the sign of the Stars, but go a little further down to the Half-Moon, which is a better lodging. From thence to St. Quinco, eight miles; thence to Alla Paglia, an inn, four miles; thence to Ponte Cintino, a market-town, eight miles; when you ride from Alla Paglia, enquire if it hath not lately rained, before you pass over the water, for therein do lie hid great stones, the water oftentimes coming on a sudden with such force, that it carries both horse and man. From Ponte Cintino to Aquapendente, four miles; before you come thither, you must pass over a bridge of stone, which the pope Gregory the Thirteenth caused to be built. In this town, you shall find most delicate, fresh, and cool drink-water, and excellent good wine and lodging. It is also the key of the pope's country. From Aquapendente to St. Laurence, five miles. It is a fine little town, where do grow marvellous pleasant wines, especially the red wine. From thence to Bolsina, a little town, four miles, where doth grow also exceeding good wine, and it lies on the sea border. In this sea do lie two islands; on either is built a church, the one is called Santa Martana, the other, Versontina, wherein is interred the body of St. Christina. In this sea are taken very good fishes, pike, carp, and eels. From thence to Montefiascon, five miles.

MONTEFIASCON.

This town lies upon a hill, formed like a flaggon, from whence the town is so called. There doth grow the best muscadine in all Italy: in which wine, a certain prelate drank himself to death, and lies there buried, on whose grave-stone are cut these words following:

Dominus meus mortuus est.

Which epitaph his servant made: He was sent always by his master before, when he travelled, for this end, to taste the wine in divers places, and, where he found this good muscadine, he, on the door wrote, EST, which was the token for his master to know that there was good wine; and so, Est, as he espied the same written on the doors, there he always lighted and renewed his drinking, whereby he lost his life. From Montefiascon to Viterbo, a city, eight miles.

VITERBO.

This is an ancient city, pertaining to the Cardinal Farnesio. It is adorned with very fair and artificial water-works, worthy the seeing.

And, when you have taken sight of this place, my advice is, to take you out as you came in, and then ride, on your right hand hard by the town wall, to the Cardinal Gambara. Thither you have three miles, where you shall, by the said cardinal, be courteously entertained; for myself, with sixteen other gentlemen, certain years past, went that way, and the cardinal, having notice thereof, caused our horses to be taken and set in his stables, and gave orders to shew us into princely chambers, to be lodged that night; and, at supper time, we were all invited to a very rich feast, the banquet being served all in rich plate. On the morrow, the cardinal's cousin led us into the palace and garden, to see the same, which is adorned with wonderful rare water-works, statues, and growing things, that are green winter and summer. And, as we were minded to take horse and depart, we were then again earnestly intreated, and invited to a very costly dinner, the said cardinal himself using us very graciously, and merrily desiring of us, That, at such time as we should arrive home again into our own countries, we would not omit to desire (in his behalf) any of our friends, that should have occasion to come that way, that they would not pass by his house without calling in, and then to accept of his poor entertainment.

Now, as we were ready to depart, we agreed to bestow twenty crowns on his servants, of which the cardinal got notice, and gave express charge, that, upon pain of corporal punishment, they should not receive any thing of us. From thence to Caprarola, which is a very excellent fair palace, pertaining to Cardinal Farnesio, being from Cardinal Gambara's palace, seven miles.

CAPRAROLA,

Is a wonderous stately palace, thirty miles from Rome, and not above two miles out of the way; very fairly built, four square; wherein are excellent brave statues, and pleasant gardens, with curious and artificial water-works. When you go up, you shall see princely lodgings, with all manner of rich hangings, and with beds and tables of precious stone. And, when a man goes into one chamber (the same being left open) he shall look into five others, and see in four corners twenty rooms, stately furnished, especially the portraiture and significator of the four winds, as artificial, as is possible to be made. Give there somewhat to drink From thence to Monte Rosa, a market-town, three miles; and, before you come to Monte Rosa, you may go through the cardinal's park, wherein are many deer, and other strange beasts. From thence to Baccano, an inn, six miles. There hath been, in times past, dangerous travelling that way, when it was a wood, the banditti harbouring themselves therein; it pertains to the Lord Paulo Jordan of Bracciano; which wood he caused to be cut down, that so now there is safe travelling the place, being at this time a pretty market-town, and lies on a little sea, wherein are excellent fish. From thence to Alla Storta, a market-town, eight miles: from thence to Rome are seven miles.

ROME,

Which is called the Head City of the whole World.

When you come to Rome, enquire for the Black Bear, or Sword, both which are lodgings for strangers, where you shall have good entertainment, and be well used; but most commonly the chiefest persons lodge at the Sword on Monte Giardano, in Italian, Alla Spacta. The host will order one or other to go with you to see the city; and my advice is, if you desire to see things worthy your notice, that you go first of all to the castle in a boat, or on foot; for a coach, you shall give not above a crown and an half for the whole day.

ANGEL CASTLE.

And first you crave license of the colonel, who will appoint one to head about; you may bestow something on him, and he is commonly one of the soldiers in garison. Then, leaving your weapons in the porter's lodge, he will bring you up to the first rampart, where are two houses of artillery, full of excellent armour, to arm about six-hundred horsemen with cuirasses, and one-thousand soldiers on foot. Then go through the three watch-towers upwards, where are very stately chambers and rooms, in which doth dwell the colonel; hard by are two other rooms, with ammunition to arm twelve-hundred musqueteers. There desire to see the rope-ladder, with which the great Roman gentleman. L. Cæsare Gaetano, did let down himself from the castle, and almost had clear escaped out of prison; the same ladder lies in a chest, standing in a certain room, where is a fall-trap; and when they intend to dispatch an offender (some great person) secretly they bring him into the said room, where, stepping unawares aside, he doth suddenly fall down, most fearfully, upon sharp iron pricks and saws, that cut him all in pieces; you will wonder to see it. The foresaid L. Gaetano had almost released himself out of that prison, if the governor's boy (who helped him) had not sorely fallen, which made him cry aloud; which the sentinel no sooner heard, but presently raised the watch, who got him, and brought him in again, and gave notice thereof to the pope; whereupon, the pope gave order to cut off the nobleman's head at midnight following, and the boy was hung out over the city walls. Let him also shew you the prison for great and noble persons, wherein is a pleasant bath; hard by which, is a secret trap, to let one fall upon sharp irons. Over against that is a fair chapel, wherein mass is celebrated. Further, go upwards, where you shall see an angel, made of white marble-stone, presenting this signification. As, on a time, Pope Gregory the First went in procession, having the picture of Sancta Maria Ara Celi in his hands, and coming to this Angel Castle, he looked upwards, and saw an angel standing there, where this angel of marble-stone now standeth, with a naked sword in the one hand, and, in the other, the sheath; and when the angel put the sword into the sheath, the plague did presently cease, which had reigned a long time before

in the city. Hard by this angel of marble-stone, doth stand a wonderous great and high ship mast, on which is hung a great flag of triumph, on a principal feast-day, when, also, is rung a thundering peal of great ordnance. Hard by, do lie two pieces, that carry seven Italian miles. Then you go back again, through a narrow gallery, where, on your right hand, is a door, that leadeth to the pope's house of victuals; and, a little beneath, another door of iron, that goes in where the pope's treasure is, and the whole city's of Rome. Then give the soldier, that went about with you, something to drink, that his other fellows may not see it, else he must part it with them. Then you come again to the watch-gate, where the weapons are given you; contribute somewhat amongst you to bestow upon them to drink, and then the drummer strikes up lustily. And, when you come to the outmost watch-gate, where are the ancient, lieutenant, and other officers, bestow something on them, and so take your leave. This castle is, by nature, so strong, that, as yet, it was never gotten by any enemy. It was first built for a mausoleum to the Emperor Adrian, a place of funeral; afterwards it was made a strong fort. There are, at this time, raised about it five great and main bastions, or ramparts. The city of Rome hath been seven times overcome, but the castle never. By the castle, is a church, called Sant Transpontina, wherein are two pillars, on which, as they say, St. Peter and Paul were scourged. Go a little further to St. Peter's Place, near whereunto lies the Emperor's ambassador, in a church called St. John; where is a table of white marble-stone, on which our Saviour Christ was circumcised, which was brought from Jerusalem to Rome. This stone should have been carried further, to another place (four horses drawing thereat) but, as it came to the place where it is now, the horses would draw no more, notwithstanding they were beaten so long, till they fell down and died; and, therefore, this church was built there, in perpetual honour and memory, and it was lifted up, and laid on an altar. Every year, on Good-Friday, are celebrated their solemn Vigil, and there is made a fair sepulchre. Within the Angel Castle are exceeding fair palaces, wherein the cardinals do keep their courts. Then go to St Peter's Palace, where you will see a marvellous great and high pyramid, erected upon the market-place, which Pope Sixtus V. caused to be transported thither, at the charge of six-thousand crowns; and, besides, did give three thousand crowns to the master that brought it thither, and erected it, and dubbed him a knight of the Golden Fleece, from which honour he receives a yearly stipend.

The said pyramids, in times past, did stand for Julius Cæsar Augustus Circo. And, in former times, when an Emperor, or other great potentate, died, they used to burn their corpse to ashes, and put them in a great golden globe, and set that on the top of the same, or such like pyramid; but the foresaid pope did take down the globe that stood thereon, and, instead thereof, caused his own arms to be set upon the same, for an everlasting remembrance. Then go forward to the guard of the Switzers, where the pope maintains two-hundred for his guard, which are paid monthly; and, if any of them gets a son, and the child is but eight days old, then he hath his duty-pay like his father.

SANTO PETRO,

The Pope's Palace, and Church.

Hard by the Switzers guard, is the pope's palace. Enquire first for the Bibliotheca, and, just as you come in, on your right hand, dwelleth the gentleman that oversees the same. Salute him, and he will appoint you one to go about, and open the rooms, which are seventy-one; then you shall see the most excellent books, the world not yielding the like, and are all written. In the first room, you shall see three books, which Virgil did write, and are sixteen-hundred years old; you shall also see, in certain chests, wonderful excellent books, especially one, written with clear Arabian gold; insomuch that, in those days, there would be scarce means found to write the like, in regard it is written, as if it were raised or cast upon the book.

There are worthy to be seen, also, the rolls, or the tables of Moses, on which are written the ten commandments, given from God. Moreover, you shall see certain Indian books, written with barks of trees, but not with letters, only figures. You shall see likewise, lying in chests and settles, many books covered all with red velvet, and with gold and silver clasps; other books, that have been former popes prayer-books. In another room, you shall see an infinite number of printed books. Then, friendly taking leave, bestow something to drink. Then go up into the palace, and you shall see, in three most fair galleries, whole Europe stately portrayed. And, in the uppermost gallery, is excellently represented the manner of Pope Gregory the First's procession; in which the arch-angel, St. Michael, shewed himself to the pope, standing above in the castle St. Angelo. When you come down again, ask for the Belvedere, a marvellous fair gallery, five-hundred paces long; at the upper end of which, is an exceeding fair statue of Cleopatra, well fitted for an artificial springing water-work. Go a little further, and there are certain chests locked, wherein do lie such excellent and principal artificial statues, as the like cannot be seen in all Rome. Above the same, are other rooms, wherein did dwell the prince of Gelder's son, and also died there; but after what sort, or what death, I could never learn.

Then enquire for the pope's gardener, who will shew you wonderful stately things, and will direct you how to come to the pope's exceeding fair gallery: Give him something to drink. Then go back again through the Belvedere, and, when you are out of that, enquire where the pope keeps his consistorium or council, which is commonly every Monday and Friday, in the mornings; and courteously saluting the guard of Switzers, who are appointed there to attend, they will let you in, where you may see the pope, with all his cardinals, and how they kiss his feet. When you come out from thence, you shall see a wonderous fair chapel, into which the pope himself doth oftentimes resort; and, before the same, is a stately hall, in which you shall see, most curiously portrayed, the last day of judgment, wrought by that excellent artificial painter, called Michael Angelo Buonaretto, a Florentine, whose like was not to be found. Then you shall go out of the chapel, into the great hall, named La Sala Beale, wherein the pope gives audience to

ambassadors or orators, which is always done publickly, that every man may hear, and is therefore called Consistorium publicum. Then you shall go from the hall, down a very stately pair of stairs; on the right hand, there is a door, through which they go into the sacristy, a prelate having the custody thereof, he is called sacristano; you must ask leave of him to see the same. In this sacristy are kept the pope's robes, which he useth to say mass, and are forty several pieces, each one worth thirty-thousand crowns, and, in particular, that which was presented by the King of Portugal, to Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, which is valued at eighty-thousand crowns. Then go into the next room, on the right hand, where is a wooden chest, in which is a golden cup, wherewith the pope celebrates mass, and many others, which I omit to write of; only that cup which the great Duke Cosmus gave to Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, the weight of which is twelve ounces of gold, the cover set all over thick with diamonds and rubies; on the same is the name Jesus, set with diamonds, the length of a finger. That cup is of great value; and in the same is a golden spout, through which the pope communicates, when he celebrates mass. Further you shall see certain chests full of silver candlesticks pertaining to the altars, twelve apostles in the height of a man, and perfuming vessels, and other rich plate: bestow somewhat to drink. You may try to see the pope's chamber of treasure, but it is a very difficult thing to get leave; where are certain chests, in every of which, is kept the treasure that each pope did leave, shortly before their deaths; it is not possible to be described. I had the fortune to get in with a princess great with child, whereby I had a sight thereof. You may courteously intreat the L. Guarda Rabba to help you in, which he may do if he pleases. After which you shall see the pope's wonderous fair gallery, which Pope Gregory caused to be made, being adorned with incomparable stately works of painting of figures, pictures, and histories, all over gilded. This gallery is three-hundred paces long, and more, where the pope does often recreate himself, walking up and down.

When you are out of this gallery, you shall come into the pope's first chamber, where there is an excellent, great, and fair looking-glass. Afar off, a man shall see a stately palace or castle, and, as you draw nearer unto it, you shall see therein the pope as naturally as if he were present; after which, go under the glass, and you shall see yourself, the pope vanishing away. Go further, into the pope's chambers, wherein he lies, all which are hung with red velvet, richly embroidered, golden ridges and tenter-hooks, and the ground covered all with red velvet. There is hard by a little chapel, in which the mass is read when the pope is sickly. Then taking leave, for honour's sake, offer some reward, but nothing will be received; then go down again to the great hall, and, if you will, go presently into St. Peter's church, turn on the left hand, and then you shall see the place where St. Peter lay in prison.

The church of St. Peter, hard by the pope's palace, is one of the seven head churches.

When you come into the church, there is, on your right hand, a white walled gate, called La Porta Sancta, which every twenty-five

years is beaten down by the pope with a golden hammer, and opened. Then all the cardinals do take that hammer, and strike thereupon; at which time, many thousand people, that came thither from far, do approach the said porta or door, to get a piece thereof, which they carry home, and reserve the same most warily, esteeming the same for a sacred thing. Go forwards, and you shall see two gates of brass, which, as they say, were brought from Jerusalem. More inwards, there is, on your left hand, an altar, on which is laid before the people, to behold, the head of St. Andrew the Apostle. Over against that, on your right hand, is laid upon an altar the spear wherewith the side of our Blessed Saviour was pierced, and also the spunge wherewith they gave him to drink, and also the holy sweating-cloth of St. Veronica, all which are shewed the people on high feast-days. Further, in the midst of the church, on your left hand, is an altar named Sanctum Sanctorum, at which (when they carry the pope down from his palace, into the chapel called Capella Paulina, where do lie buried half the bodies of both the apostles, Peter and Paul) the pope is set down, and doth his devotion, which continues half an hour.

Then go out into the building, where, on your right hand, is a marvellous fair chapel, called Gregoriana, which Pope Gregory the Thirteenth caused to be built, shortly before his death, which cost five-hundred-thousand crowns and more, as they affirm; and therein lies buried the body of St. Gregory the First, whom Pope Gregory the Thirteenth caused to be transported thither out of another church. And, afterwards, Gregory the Thirteenth was buried by him.

Right before this chapel stands a pillar, about which is made an iron grate, where are done many miracles; for they do say, for a certain truth, that our Saviour Christ did use to lean on that pillar at Jerusalem, when he preached in the temple. Against the same, you shall see an exceeding rich tomb, in which Pope Farnesius the Third is buried, all of bell-metal naturally. Right before the old church, named Capella Paulina, are certain marble-stone pillars, which were brought from Jerusalem. At the altar in that chapel, doth the pope himself celebrate mass on high feast-days, if he be not indisposed; and, under the same pillar, lies the other half part of the apostles Peter and Paul. Moreover, in the new building, are four chapels, one of which Pope Gregory caused to be finished before his death; the other three should have been finished by the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the King of France; but, hitherto, there is not one of them finished. This pope is resolved, as they say, to accomplish the same, together with the new building of St. Peter's, which is so incomparable a building, that in the universal world cannot be found the like. Before you depart from St. Peter's church, desire to see the pope's stable, wherein are thirty snow-white nags or hacknies, and a milk-white ass, on which the pope uses to ride; and, for a small reward, they will make ready one of the same, trimmed and furnished, as if the pope were ready to ride thereon, wonderful stately.

Every year, on St. Peter's Day, doth the King of Spain's orator present the pope with such a white nag; and when, on that day, the pope is carried from his palace to the church, there stands his said

Majesty's orator ready with the nag before the church door, until his holiness is near; then they stand still with the pope, who gives his blessing, and presently the white nag falls down on both his fore knees before the pope; and then they carry his holiness into the church, and the said orator delivers the nag to the pope's steward, with a red velvet purse, which it carries about his neck, wherein are twelve-thousand crowns for a yearly tribute.

Then go from St. Peter's to Campo Santo, where the Dutch nation have their church, and you shall see a ground incompassed with a little wall four square, which ground, as they credibly affirm, was brought from Jerusalem in the four pillars of bell-metal, which stand before the altar at St. John Lateran. They say, if a pilgrim be buried in that church yard, being a Roman, he cannot consume or decay; but any other nation, in twenty-four hours, are quite consumed; which is daily to be seen, and much wondered at. This Campo Santo is an hospital, ordained by Queen Anne of Austria, where are fed, every dinner-time, thirteen pilgrims, of which a great number do assemble themselves every morning, standing ring-wise. Out of them the priest selects thirteen, and brings them into a fair room, and places one of them, as resembling our Saviour, in the midst, and on each other, six others, who are excellently well served at a long table, signifying the twelve apostles.

The whole dinner-time, a priest doth read out of the holy writ, at the table, two other ministers attending, to fill wine, and to set meat in order; and, when they are satisfied, hand-water is given them, and those that desire bread to carry with them, do receive it; and then, with thanks, they take their leave. Then go further, if you be inclined to go to Santo Spirito, an hospital, and enquire for Cardinal Cesius's palace, which hath wonderful fair rooms, richly furnished, and adorned with brave statues.

SANT SPIRITO,

An Hospital, made by the Pope.

When you come in, you shall see right out before, on both sides, three-hundred beds standing, all hung with very fair curtains, the bed-steads carved, night-gowns, pantables, and other necessaries in order placed by every bed. So soon as a sick body comes thither (for none are refused) he is set on a bench, until the doctors and surgeons are brought to him, with the apothecaries, by whom the sick are visited. He is presently accepted, his bedding appointed, and immediately a clean sweet shirt is given him. His cloaths are laid up, till he recovers, or dies; and, as soon as the sick person is any whit amended, they give him another lodging, where he is well attended fourteen days, and more, until he be well recovered. In this hospital are thirty persons always maintained, only to give diligent attendance on the sick that resort thither.

In the midst you shall see as many beds, as in the room you came in at; and there is an altar and tabernacle, where mass is read to the sick,

every morning. Both sides are hung with arra in winter-time, in summer with gilded leather, from the ground to the top. There are continually found, in this hospital, above three-thousand persons, as, children, nurses, widows, and other poor people, that are there maintained. This hospital, as is credibly reported, hath had every year, income, more than two-hundred thousand crowns; but the popes of late have taken it away, so that the yearly revenue now is one million seven-hundred thousand crowns. Then go further to see the fair spittal, which is a very pleasant building, adorned with stately pillars; in which building an Emperor may not be ashamed to keep his court. It is as big as a reasonable town.

Now, having seen the whole castle, I would advise you to hire a coach, and so, in order, to take a view of the most principal things in the churches, as followeth:

When you go out of the gate Sant Spiritus, look behind you on the left hand, and you shall see that wonderful swift river, the Tiber, which runs through the city, and also the Vestigia, on which the bridge Trionfal did stand, as the Romish Emperor went from the Vatican in all state and pomp over the same; and from thence to Campo Doglio, where doth stand the Senato Romano, or council house. Further, you will see, from the Porta Santo Spirito, towards the Angel-Castle, an excellent fair street; go through the same, and on your right hand, at the foot of a hill, called Monte Johan Nicolo (where the Emperor Julius Cesar had his circus, and the Pyramis, which is on St. Peter's place) where at that time was a monastery, named Honofro, pertaining to the Cardinal Madrazi.

Go forwards through the gate, and on the right hand you shall see, right against the hill, a monastery, named St. Petri Montorio, where is built a chapel, like a round temple, very pleasant to behold; go down from thence, and there is an altar, and two pillars of marble stone, between which, as they certainly affirm, St. Peter the apostle was martyred and crucified; from thence you may plainly behold the whole city of Rome. Then go back to St. Maria Trastevere, where are wonderous brave columns, and an ancient church. Under the great altar is a place, where was a spring of very costly oil at the time when our Saviour Christ was born; after whose birth the spring did lose itself, and ceased, and therefore the church was built on that place. Further, go towards the two bridges; one of which, named Insula, is fastened in with clear white marble-stone, naturally resembling a great ship, wherein doth stand in the midst a Pyramis, named Ponte de quatro Capi. Go over the bridge towards the Jews town, and you shall see on your left hand an antiquater, which was, in times past, Theatrum Marcelli; it is, on the one side, as yet unruinated. Then inquire for Santa Maria del Portino, wherein you shall see, behind the great altar, a pillar that shines and lights like a torch day and night, which should have been transferred to St. Peter's, but, this being so ancient a church, the pope, without breaking the orders, may not take it away. Not far from thence is Pontius Pilate's palace, built of red bricks, being, in those days, a curious fine work; it is almost altogether ruinated, and no man can safely dwell therein, by reason of

continual hurly-burlies, or terrible appearances. Over against the same, you shall see two ancient temples, the one long-wise, called the Temple of the Sun, the other round the temple of the Moon, built in time past in honour of the planets; they are much decayed, by reason of bad weather and long standing.

Go further, and see the mighty great hill, Monte Palatino, which is one of the seven hills of Rome. Underneath, hard by a church, you shall see a great marble-stone, round like a mill-stone, having two eyes, a nose, and a wide mouth, La Bocca della Verita, in English, The Mouth of Truth; for, in those days, the people used to run thither to inquire after unknown things, as, complaining of adultery, or such like; the party suspected, putting his finger into that mouth, did swear his innocence; and he or she that did swear falsly, the mouth did bite off his finger. Credat qui volet.

The church, on which this stone doth lean, is very ancient, and in which St. Augustine kept school. Go also further, and you may look into the Tiber, where, in time past, did stand the bridge, named Pons Supplicum, upon which that valiant Roman, Horatio Cocles, did fight, and alone withstood the Tuscans so long, till the bridge fell down behind him; whereby the city of Rome was preserved; he himself, with his horse, leaping over the bridge into the river, was saved, having thereby manfully overcome the enemy.

Go towards St. Paul, on your right hand, and you shall see a great hill, raised up only with potsheards, and other strange earth; for, as, on a time, the Emperor would tax the world, he did desire that from every part thereof each one should bring him for a tribute a pot full of earth to that place; and so the hill was made, as aforesaid. In the time of Pope Pius the Fourth, they did use now and then to set up pales and rails on that ground, and gave some rich prize to be won; then brought wild buffaloes and bulls, on which they hung powder and squibs, setting them on fire, when they would run amongst other buffaloes, making them furious; and then the Romans would take each of them a pale, and he, that should overcome and kill one of those buffaloes, did receive a prize.

Then go to St. Paolo alla Porta, where doth stand an ancient pyramid, half part of which is built within the city, and half without. In the wall is a tomb twelve-hundred years old; and they say, that the first pope of Rome lies buried there. Go further towards the gate through a long street, and you shall see by the way a little church by which St. Peter shewed himself, as St. Paul was led out to suffer and to die, and there St. Peter took his leave of him. You may read on the wall of the church, in what most pitiful manner the two apostles departed, insomuch as whoso doth read it can scarce forbear weeping.

ST. PAUL'S,

Is a mighty great church, built by the Emperor Constantine, in honour of St. Paul's head, which was found there at that time. Without

the church are four holy gates, which every twenty-five years are once opened. When you come into the church, on your right hand, is an altar, which was a well when St. Paul was beheaded, and before the church was built, into which well those that had compassion of Paul did cast his head, which being found, the church was there built. Take a view of the church, which is adorned with forty-eight mighty great marble-stone pillars, of all manner of colours, curiously wrought, so great and high, that the like are not to be seen in all Rome.

In the midst of the church, you shall see a chapel, wherein Queen Bridget of Sweden did use to do her devotion. Right against that chapel stands a crucifix, and Queen Bridget had a little window in the chapel, thro' which she might see the crucifix, where she did her devotion with such fervency, that the crucifix turned, and looked towards the window, and stands so to this day; and there are great indulgences and pardons for sins, to be obtained every year, by such as do heartily and unfeignedly desire the same. Above the great altar do lie buried three innocent children, which were slain by Herod's command. There are also seven altars privileged; so that, if any person be loth to go as far as St. Peter's, they may here have as many indulgences and pardons for their sins, as they can have at St. Peter's. Then enquire for the sacristan, and he will lead you into the sacristy, and shew you the relicks upon the altar; he will shew you the arm of St. Arma, our dear loving mother, with skin and bone, through a window of chrystal; the arm is fastened in with silver, which I myself have touched. Further you shall see the chain in which St. Paul was bound in prison, which chain, if any man puts it about his neck, he shall never, all the days of his life, be fettered in iron chains, nor imprisoned, as they say. There are also many other relicks, as, the water wherewith Christ was baptised; certain stones wherewith St. Stephen was stoned; and also half the corpses of Peter and Paul.

At that time, when Charles the Fifth, Emperor, was at Rome, he desired the pope to grant him a request which he would ask, promising, that he would desire neither land, nor money, nor any thing that was worth money. The pope demanding what it was, the Emperor said, he did only crave one of the links of St. Paul's chain; but the pope gave him no more than half a link, as is this day to be seen, the other half part remaining yet on the chain. Bestow something then to drink. Afterwards go towards the three fountains. There was St. Paul beheaded, whose head being struck off, it leaped three times, as they say, and at every leap it called Jesus; and presently after there sprung up three springs, which are now compassed about very pleasantly; and by each one doth hang a copper little pan, out of which the people use to drink. There stands a table by the same, on which is written, Whoso drinks out of those springs, shall attain everlasting salvation. The Romans do run thither barefoot in the morning early to drink: before you come to the three wells, you shall see a hill, on which there have been slain, by the tyrannical emperor's command, one-hundred-seventy-four-thousand martyrs; then go from the three fountains towards Sebastian's, which is one of the seven principal churches.

ST. SEBASTIAN'S.

This church stands on the way side without Rome, called Appia, whither is a continual resort of a wonderful number of pilgrims, especially in the time of Lent. Hard by a place called Catatumbæ, is a wall wherein did lie secretly hid the bodies of St. Peter and Paul, as they say, two-hundred and fifty years before any body could know what was become of them. On the same is built an altar with especial privileges, at which intercession is made for the afflicted souls, that, as yet, are detained in purgatory.

Then desire a priest to go with you that hath a torch lighted, lest you lose yourselves in the grotto or vault, under which lies buried Calixtus, with one-hundred eighty-six-thousand martyrs. And in your going out you shall see an altar under which Sebastian lies buried. The priest will let you see divers other relicks; as, the measure and form, the length and bigness of our Saviour's feet, which he left on the hill at his holy ascension. Then go towards the city again by the way of Appia, where you shall come to a chapel, by which two ways do part: and there did St. Peter meet our Saviour, and said, 'Whither wilt thou go?' Our Saviour answered, 'I am come for thy sake, and to be crucified again.' Presently after our Saviour vanished away, and St. Peter went into the city of Rome, where he was very shortly after cast into prison, and put to death.

THERMÆ ANTONINÆ.

These Thermæ have been baths which the Emperor Constantine caused to be built at an infinite cost, and admirable curiosity, the water being led unto them twenty-seven Italian miles.

ST. STEFFAN REDONDO.

This was in times past a heathenish temple, pertaining to the Hungarian nation, but since costly built by Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, wherein are most excellently drawn and portrayed the death and tortures of all such martyrs as have suffered since the birth and passion of our Blessed Saviour, and under what tyrants they were persecuted.

This temple, in former times, was named Pantheum, by reason all the Gods were presented and honoured there; now there are many reformed Jews baptised therein, as you may see oftentimes. Then go towards John de Lateran, where heretofore the popes have had their residence.

JOHN LATERAN,

One of the seven capital churches. When you go towards the church, you shall see on your right hand a little court, where doth stand a stone

pillar of Perfido, on which the cock did stand and crow thrice, before Peter denied our Saviour Christ. There is also a temple, wherein are very stately pillars, and, in the midst, is a little chest, made over a stone kettle, out of which the Emperor Constantine was christened, who was the first Christian Emperor. Then go forwards, and enquire for the sacristan of St. John; he will go before you with two burning torches, and shew you a chapel underneath the church, which is never opened but on great holidays; if you salute him courteously, he will open it for you. Therein is a table, at which our Saviour Christ did sit with his apostles, at the institution of the holy sacrament; it is of wood four square. You shall see also the staff with which Moses parted the Red Sea, and led the children of Israel through it; also the staff of Aaron, wherewith he governed the episcopal state. Then go out of the church, and you shall see a chair of stone; and, they say, when a pope is to be chosen, they set him on the same (being hollow) to see, whether he be fitted as a man. Hard by the same is a holy gate, which is opened once in twenty-five years. The cieling of this church is over-gilded with pure gold. By the great altar are four pillars of bell-metal, exceeding fair, which were brought from Jerusalem, filled with holy earth, for they are hollow, and most curiously wrought. There are also shewed to the people, on great holidays, the heads of St. Peter and Paul, laid upon the altar; they are yet fresh to behold with skin and hair, as if they were living. In this church are many other relicks and holy things, of which I omit to write. It was built by the Emperor Constantine, and is very stately, and is adorned with pillars of marble-stone, of all sorts of colours.

Then go into the cloisters, where doth stand a table of stone upon four pillars, under which every man or woman, that comes thither, do measure themselves; but there was never any person yet found, that was just of that height; it was, as they say, the exact stature of our Saviour Christ. Further, there are three open doors and gates, which have stood in Herod's Palace, at Jerusalem, through which our Blessed Saviour went, as he was condemned to die. Moreover, above, in the gallery, over two fair half pillars, doth lie a beam, whereon is written, Et petræ scissæ sunt, as in the text is mentioned, 'The stones clave in sunder, and the vail did rend;' from whence the two half pillars of marble stone are cloven so neatly asunder, that it is not possible, by the art and diligence of man, to do it more cleanly. They are also very curiously wrought. Over against that, is a little window, wherein the Blessed Virgin Mary did sit, as the angel Gabriel brought her the salutation from God. Hard by, are a pair of stairs, and it is forbidden, under punishment of losing body and goods, that no man must presume to go up and down the same on his feet, but on his knees. There are thirty-two stairs, over which our Saviour Christ went with Simon, as he was led to be martyred, and, upon those stairs, did drop bloody sweat, as a man may see perfectly to this day. Hard by the same, are other stairs, and, when you are half the way up, go on your left hand, and you shall come to a chapel, called Sanctum Sanctorum, where, upon the great altar, is the face of our Saviour Christ, which St. Luke pictured. In this chapel, is a piece of wood fastened into the wall,

being a piece of Noah's ark, which was brought thither. Then go to the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, as they call it, which is one of the seven churches, and governed by Cardinal Caraffa.

HOLY CROSS.

When you come into this church, ask for the sacristan, who will shew you a little glass, wherein is kept, as they say, the milk of the mother of God, besides many other relicks. Also the cardinal hath the key to a nail, that was struck through a foot of our Saviour Christ; also three thorns of the crown, that pierced his holy head; likewise the title, which Pilate writ on the holy cross, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. There you shall go down, under the altar, where the Cardinal hath the custody of many holy relicks.

Then go to St. Laurence, lying without the city walls, which is one of the seven churches.

ST. LAURENCE.

St. Laurence's church doth stand a mile from the place where his corpse was buried. The stone, on which he was broiled, is yet to be seen bloody and fatty, as it did drop upon the same, and no man can wipe it out. There is also a piece of the gridiron, upon which he was broiled; and here lies St. Stephen buried, and certain stones are there to be seen, wherewith he was stoned, and there is a great indulgentia.

ST. MARIA MAGGIOR,

One of the Seven Churches.

When you go to this most fair excellent church, on the outside about, you will wonder to see the admirable costly entry, built by Pope Gregory the Thirteenth. You shall also see one of the seven holy gates, which is but once opened in twenty-five years. Then go from thence, to John Lateran, which church is adorned with fair tombs; on the stile, where the chapel doth stand, there are also very stately columns, and the roof thereof is very richly painted, and over-gilt. There is, on the right side, by the great altar, a very fair chapel, built by Pope Gregory the Thirteenth; and, just thereby, is a mighty pyramid erected, which is like to that at St. Peter's. This chapel is also like to that where Pope Gregory lies buried, which he caused to be built; but this did Sextus the Fifth build, who lies there buried. The said pyramid, in former time, did lie a long while in the street of St. Rocha, parted in three parts; and Pope Sixtus caused them to be conveyed into his chapel. There have been two of these pyramids, which were erected in the Mausoleum of Augustus Cæsar, hard by his tomb;

but, as Rome was devasted, they were ruined. The Mausoleum yet is very delightful to behold, wherein doth dwell a Roman, by whom, a man may learn the particulars thereof. In the church Maria Maggior, you shall see the manger, wherein our Blessed Saviour did lie at Bethlehem, together with many other relicks, which the sacristan may shew you; otherwise, they are to be seen only on great holidays. In the choir, is a fair epitaph and tomb of Pope Nicholas the Fourth, which is wonderous stately and admirable, richly adorned. Before the choir, on the left hand, is an altar, under which St. Jerome lies buried. When you go out of the church, on the right hand, you shall see an altar, on which is written the original cause of the building of the church; namely, there were two married persons, that had no children, and were so rich, that they knew not what to do wherewith. In the twelfth night, in the month of August, they dreamed, that they should arise before day, and go up towards that hill, where it had snowed, and there they should build a temple; which they did accordingly, and began to dig, with their own hands; and the pope came, just at that instant, with his servants, with intent, as he had also dreamed, to build a temple there; and, therefore, it is yet the custom, every year, on the twelfth of August, for a memorial, to solemnise a great feast; and, from the top of the church, they let fall certain things, seeming as if it did snow. When you will go back again through the church, towards the holy gate, you shall see another church, named Santa Potentiana; therein is half a pillar of green marble-stone to be seen through a grate, on which our Blessed Saviour, Christ Jesus, was whipped. In this church are two wells, wherein the two sisters, St. Praxedis and Potentiana, did use to drop the blood of the martyrs, which they took up with a spunge. Then go back again, through St. Maria Maggior, and, as you go down the hill on your right hand, there the Pope did visit, on a time, the seven churches. As he came by Cardinal de Monte Alto's garden, he enquired whose fair and pleasant palace that was; answer was made, The Cardinal de Monte Alto's. After which, Pope Gregory the Thirteenth did weaken his revenue, per annum, by four-thousand crowns; which cardinal was afterwards pope, and named Sixtus Quintus. Over against the same, you shall see an ancient church, called Pancratio, where, on a time, a priest did say mass, and did doubt, that it was no sacrament, and that our Saviour Christ was not in Ostia; and it chanced, as they say, that it fell out of his hand, on a point of the corner of the altar, being a white marble-stone, on which the Ostia left the print thereof; just as big, as it was from the corner, it fell upon a stair, on which likewise it left the print thereof, and the form very naturally, only the print did change itself into a blood-red colour.

Then go further to St. Maria de Monte, where is as frequent a pilgrimage, as at Maria Loretto. In the place where this church doth stand, there stood, in former time, a barn, and it was intended to have built a house there; and, as they began to dig, there was heard a mighty oracle, and therefore they digged more softly, where then was found the picture of the Virgin Mary; which being made known to the pope, he went and fetched the same with a solemn procession, and it is

kept still in honour of the Blessed Virgin; wherefore, Pope Gregory the Thirteenth caused, on the place, a church to be built at his own charges. This church is built all of marble-stone, most cunningly; and, in especial, the great altar, where the picture, that was found, is most richly adorned. In the said church, do hang divers tables, wherein is noted the miracles which, in former times, have been done there, and yet daily are done; those, therefore, that go in pilgrimage thither, and do pray with a strong and certain hope, are heard, and their suits obtained, as you yourselves may thereby be truly assured. There are daily Indulgentia plenaria and remission of sins. Then go to St. Peter in Vinculo.

ST. PETER IN VINCULO.

In this church you shall see an excellent epitaph and tomb of Pope Leo the Second, which is an incomparable piece of work, and all of white marble-stone, and alabaster; there is a statue of Moses, the heighth of two men, of one intire piece, and also other fair statues; the monks can shew you many holy relicks, together with the chain with which St. Peter was fettered in prison. Without in the cloisters, it is very pleasant winter and summer, being planted with orange-trees, and in the midst a mighty date-tree, like to which there are none found, neither in Rome, nor in all Italy. The monastery is also situated wonderous pleasant, being a building so well fitted, that the Pope might conveniently keep his court therein.

Over-against that, is the palace of the Lord George Cæsarini Ursini, which is so rare and excellent a building as is wonderful to behold.

The Palace of Lord GEORGE URSINI together with the Garden.

The overseer of the same was in my time a Low-Country man; he will shew you such exceeding fair rooms, and chambers, as the like are scarce to be seen any where else, adorned with stately arras all of cloth of gold, and tissue; tables of precious stone, and beds richly furnished beyond comparison; statues and pictures portrayed so naturally, as that the beholders are enticed to embrace them in their arms, falling in love with them, they seeming laughing and living creatures. Desire to see the hindmost room, where the noble-man hath the oldest pieces of work made three or four-hundred years since, and other rare things whereof I omit to write; there is also pictured the tower of Babylon on a square piece, which cost above ten-thousand crowns. This noble-man is of the ancient Roman race; his lady is the daughter of Cardinal Farnesius, so beautiful that, in Rome, she may not be compared; you shall see two very excellent fair gardens, graced with admirable pictures, and statues: bestow a little to drink. Go from thence as if you would

go towards your lodging, and enquire for the Cardinal of Florence's house, where you shall see a most excellent fair palace, but little. It is wholly to be compared to a fair jewel; you must intreat the keeper thereof, not to with-hold any thing from your sight, promising him a reward, and then he will shew you orderly one thing after another, as rooms, chambers, and gardens, set forth and adorned with arras of gold and tissue, wonderous fair statues, and tables of precious stone. In sum, every particular as rich and costly as may be devised. Also, in the garden, a cage wherein are all kinds of birds making sweet harmony, divers rare water-works, and plentifully planted with cypress-trees, yielding a savour so admirable sweet, as the body therewith may be ravished. There are also mighty great vaults under ground, wherein they used to dine and sup in summer-time, by reason of the extraordinary heat, which are adorned with rare pictures, statues, and histories; the place in former time being a waste and ruined ground, and decayed wall, fallen from the temple of Peace, which stands just behind the same; being of a great antiquity, built by the old Roman Emperors, after Jerusalem was destroyed, thereby to signify that they had no need to maintain wars, for they thought there was no nation in the world, that durst war against them. The building is so strong a work, that it was intended, it should remain as long as the world stood; but, as our Saviour Christ was born, the said temple fell, and yet, every Christmas night, there falls a great piece from the same.

COLUMNA TRAJANA.

When you desire to go up to this mighty great pillar, you must call to the stone-cutter, that dwells over-against the same, who hath the key thereto: But he will have something to drink, before he openeth the same.

They say, that this pillar was built by the Emperor Trajan, after he had won Jerusalem, in memory of his victory, all of white marble-stone, wherein are engraved orderly all the battles and victories, which he hath had. A man may ascend up to the top of this pillar in the inside one-hundred and eighty-six stairs high, the stone-work being so orderly laid upon the other, that one would verily think the whole pillar was but one intire stone. I will give you warning of one thing when you come up: Sit and rest, before you look up to the top of the pillar, or before you go round about it on the outside, for I myself, unawares, was almost dizzied and ready to fall. From this column you may see over the whole city; then you may go towards the other pillar, called, Columna Antoniniana.

COLUMNA ANTONINIANA.

This pillar is like unto the other, built by the emperor Antoninus, after his obtained victories, in perpetual memory. Part of this pillar

fell down, by reason whereof no man could go up these many years; but the Pope, that was last, hath caused the same to be well repaired, and now they go up thereunto. Then go presently to the street, named, de Popolo, where the Cardinal Ferdinando de Medicis (he that is now great Duke of Florence) hath an exceeding fair and stately palace, and garden of pleasure. The palace lies on an hill, named Monte Trinitatis. First shall be shewn you the hall, wherein, you shall see mighty square pieces of stone, and, by the window, is a water-spout erected so high, that a man may wash his hands, standing in the gallery above; and from thence also you may look over the city of Rome. Then go from the hall into the sixteen chambers, or rooms, where you shall always look out of them into the others, if the doors stand open; which rooms are so richly adorned and furnished with arras of wrought gold and silver, as no Emperor, or Pope, hath the like; and, as the walls are hung, so are the beds dressed accordingly. The rooms are graced with rare tables of precious stone, and oriental pearl set therein, and also with brave statues and pictures. You shall see on a table a little temple, and, when a man puts his head into it, he shall think it were a church of a mile in compass, having certain hundred pillars, the prospective looking-glass therein causing the same. You shall see, in one of the rooms, a very fair sphere, fitted for astrology, which the great Duke Cosmus did use. Then go up the stairs, where are also exceeding stately rooms, adorned with mighty statues, costly arras and tables, and excellent rare pictures. There is a looking-glass, in which (standing a little space from it) you shall see plainly the city of High Siena, together with the manner of the besieging it; and, when you draw nearer unto it, you shall see the Great Duke naturally as if living; but, when you come just to it, you behold yourself only and alone. Then, going out of the palace, on your left hand, you shall see two lions, an eagle, a leopard, and other strange beasts. When you go a little further, you shall see a tower standing at the end of the garden, on the old city wall, where a man may go out of, and into the city, when he pleases; such a privilege hath never any man had in Rome, but only this Cardinal; for, as he was resolved to build a palace there, he shewed his grievance to the senators of the city, namely, that, the place being altogether a hill, it would be an infinite charge to bring it into a plain; neither did he know whither all that earth should be conveyed, that would be taken from the hill; and, therefore, he obtained leave of the Pope to break a hole through the city wall to carry the earth conveniently away, and to make a door to open and shut, at pleasure. They thought he should have enjoyed the conveniency of that door, no longer than the time of his building, but he was too crafty for them, the door remaining there to this day. Go a little further, and there is a stone pit, where are very rare statues made and repaired; for, what antiquity soever the Cardinal can have for money, that he buyeth to adorn and furnish the said palace. Not far from thence, the Cardinal caused a hill to be made, and one-hundred and fifty stairs to go up; on the top, is built an excellent pleasant summer-house, with many rare green and fruitful trees, compassing the same, in which house he uses to dine and sup, when the weather is hot. There is, hard by the table, a fresh-water chest to cool his wine in; from that

place you may overlook the whole city of Rome. The hill is overgrown from the bottom to the top with cypress trees, which is as pleasant a prospect as man can imagine. The garden is adorned with such and so many artificial and rare water-works, plants, and statues, as would drive a man to admire; and, in truth, the like is in all Rome not to be seen. The Cardinal, on a time, invited certain noblemen to a supper in that garden, the drink only to which supper did cost sixty-thousand crowns; judge then what the whole feast did cost. The compass of the garden is two Italian miles, and very broad. Then do not neglect to go to the garden of a certain knight, named Nero; where is built a little palace, but wonderous stately, and a room made all of chrystal glass. Then go out of the gate del Popolo, about half a mile from Rome, where is the rare and pleasant garden of Pope Julius the Second, wherein are excellent artificial water-works; and there is a palace gloriously adorned with rare antiquities and statues, of the oldest and best in all Rome.

PALATIO FARNESIO.

If this palace had been finished, it were the biggest, fairest, and strongest of all others in Rome, with wonderful high rooms, which the Pope, Paulus Farnesius, caused to be built. Go in on the right hand under the vault, and there dwells the overseer that hath the key; he will shew you every thing in order; bestow something upon him to drink. And, first, you shall see a mighty great hall, the sight of which will make you wonder, by reason of the great height, the ceiling being cunningly raised beyond comparison, all of cypress wood. In this hall is a long table of oriental marble-stone and alabaster, set with pearl, Lapis Lazuli, and other costly stones, which the Cardinal would not part with for eighty-thousand crowns. Then go into the other rooms, which are all royally furnished; and in the first room are the ancientest emperors naturally portrayed; therein is also an idol, which the Romans (heathenish opiniated) did adore. In this room are three great tables of oriental alabaster, set with divers other precious stones, glistering like a burning torch. Before this room on the right hand is a little chapel, and upon the altar a wonderful fair square, painted by that famous artisan Michael Angelo, a Florentine, and thereon the Last Day of Judgment, so exquisitely and cunningly, that no where the like may be found; bestow to drink. Go then down again into the court-yard, where you shall see six mighty statues, made by two perfect cunning masters, for a great wager, namely, two Commodi Imperatores, two Dea Flora's, and two Hercoli, worthy of each experienced beholder, which of them are made most cunningly. Not far from thence you shall come into another court, and there is a mighty ox, and three statues; a dog, a shepherd, and a concubine, nigh as if they were alive there present. These said pieces are made of one whole intire white marble-stone, which is an admirable piece of work, touching the particulars whereof there were much to be written. But the histories will largely declare the same, which are to be found in the Emperor Antoninus's Thermæ, having

stood there also on a time, which Pope Paulus Farnesius caused to be brought into this place aforesaid. A little further, you shall see two mighty great kettles of stone, which did stand also in the said Thermæ. Go over-against that place, and take a view of a bishop's palace, wherein are wonderous fair statues.

The Palace of the Bishops of Valencia in Spain.

There, in the first room above, stands a mighty fair statue, named Apollo, exceeding old, and yet no whit at all decayed, of oriental alabaster; the said bishop was offered, by the Cardinal de Medicis, twenty-four thousand crowns for the same; but the bishop would not take it. Then go over Campo de Fiore, where Cardinal Farnesius dwells.

PALATIUM FARNESII.

This is an extraordinrry fair building, four-square below, and above, with mighty columns and pillars; the like are not in all Rome; and also wonderful fair galleries four-square about. And, when you go up the stairs, there stand two mighty Dea Flora's, of marble-stone, at which you will much wonder; whoso can carry them away, may keep them. In this palace is a fair church, which many people pass by unknown, and without seeing it, for it is built like to the palace; therein is an arm of the saint from whom the church is named. Take a sight of the Cardinal's stable, wherein are, most commonly, above an hundred and fifty brave horses.

The Jesuits Church, which the Cardinal built at his own charge.

This is a marvellous stately temple, covered all over with copper, exceeding high, great, and wide. In the choir stands an altar, which, together with the tabernacle, did cost about thirty-thousand crowns, with very fair and stately pillars of marble-stone. Also, the Cardinal caused, for forty-thousand crowns, gold coin or pence to be made, and also some of silver and brass, on which were stamped his picture. The same he laid, with his own hands, for a foundation; and afterwards such of his friends, as he had heretofore invited, did the like, for an everlasting memory. The building of this temple continued five years, all upon the cardinal's cost and charges. They affirm, that this temple cost a certain ton of gold the building. One ton of gold is reckoned at twenty-thousand pounds sterling.

Then go right out through the straight street, and you shall come to the Campodoglio.

CAMPODOGLIO, or the Romans Council-house.

In this Campodoglio, or Capitolium, did the Romans use to sit in council; it was afterwards made a strong castle, being in the time of war devasted, but repaired again by Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, and adorned with a fair clock-tower. Go into the court, and up an exceeding stately pair of stairs, before which are two great horses of marble-stone; and another above, in the court, of bell-metal, on which sits the Emperor Adrian, all over gilded with pure ducat-gold. Go into another court, and there lies a head on the ground, which is made very perfectly; it pertains to the head named Campodoglino; it was in times past a statue, standing there for an ornament, and it shall be erected again in like manner as it hath been. Many have laid wagers, that the face is not a man's length, but, being measured, it is longer; whereby one may guess how great the whole body hath been, and how much the erecting thereof cost. Go further, and you shall behold wonderful excellent histories and statues; then go beyond, where they sit in council, where are stately statues and glorious pictures, and in what manner the Roman Emperors in triumph have gone through the gate, when they returned home with laudable victories. You shall see also rare antiquities. Bestow something to drink. Then go right over-against the Campodoglio, into the Church, named Maria Ara Cœli.

SANTA MARIA, Ara Cœil.

This is a very ancient church, over-against which are stairs an hundred and forty-two steps high, on which you may overlook all Rome. When you come into the church, you shall see the cieling all over gilded with pure ducat-gold. There are wonderful brave and stately great pillars, all of marble-stone; there is an altar hard by the choir, where you shall see, upon a white marble-stone, two prints of feet, left by the angel Michael, in the Angel Castle, when he put up the naked sword, and presently vanished. Not far from thence, before the church was built, did St. Hieronymus (as they say) shew unto the Emperor Constantine the Virgin Mary, with the child Jesus in her arms, which was there also seen in the air; whereby the Emperor came to the acknowledgment of the Christian Faith, and from whence the church was named, and built by the said Emperor Constantine. Go afterwards out of that church down the stairs; there is a place, called Capo Vacchino, where was made a bridge, in times past, from the Campodoglio, over to the palace Maggior, where do stand three marble-stone pillars, one by another, over which the bridge was made. By the said three pillars, Marcus Curtius, with his horse, did leap down.

MARCUS CURTIUS.

They do constantly affirm, that by these three columns, in former times, was a mighty and ugly hole, which, for the space of a long time, did

yield a very noisome smoke and stink; and, whosoever did smell the same, he fell suddenly down, and died. And although they did oftentimes attempt, by casting into the hole many things, to choak it up, yet nothing did help, nor hinder the filthy savour thereof. But, on a time, there was heard a voice, that came out of that hole, saying, The hole would not be shut up, nor the noisome scent be asswaged, unless a Roman did leap thereinto with a horse.

Now, as Marcus Curtius (being a Roman of noble parentage and spirit) did understand the same, he made offer to the senate of the city, that (since the welfare of the city, and his native country, depended thereon) he would venture his life for the common good, and with his horse leap down, provided that one suit might be first granted unto him; namely, that, for the space of one whole year, he might have free liberty to accomplish his lust, and desire, with fair and beautiful women, and virgins, and that none, whom he should take liking of, might be denied him; which request was granted him by the Roman senate. So, after the year was ended, wherein he enjoyed what his heart could wish, he mounted on horseback, and leaped into that hellish fiery pit, which instantly did close of its own accord, and thereby that mischief was ceased. Right over-against the same, did stand the house of Cicero, where, as yet, you may see the old walls thereof. When you go from the Campodoglio, you shall see a port of triumph, which the Roman senate caused to be made for Vespasian the Emperor, as he came from Jerusalem, to Rome, through which he rid in most magnificent state.

Over-against the same, you shall see the Temples of the Planets near together.

THE TEMPLES OF THE PLANETS.

There are seven of those temples built by Pontius Pilate's house, in honour of the planets, but now they are devasted. And not far from them, there is built another temple, called De la Pace, or Temple of Peace, which fell in as Vespasian came from Jerusalem, and every Christmas since the birth of Christ, there hath fallen, and yet, as they say, a great piece doth yearly fall from the same. Then go towards the Amphitheatrum Vespasiani; you must pass through a triumph-port. Before the same without, there is an old decayed wall, where formerly the people did use to see the spectacles in the circus, and out of which wall did always run wine, of which the spectators did drink as much as they listed. This Amphitheatrum was built by the Emperor Vespasian, in which may sit conveniently and well accommodated 50,000 persons, to behold the rare spectacles. The Emperor himself, in this place, did overcome, and slew in fight, with his own hands, one-hundred wild and furious beasts, in one afternoon; but he fought only with one at once, and one after another.

Right before the same you shall see a wonderous fair gate of triumph which the Emperor caused to be built, through which he went in mag-

nificent pomp. Then go to the Thermæ Dioclesiani, where are the seven halls, coming into which you shall see on each side seven halls, where, in former time, the Emperor Adrian had his palace, and dwelt there It is somewhat dangerous to venture into the said halls, being under ground, for some have perished therein; then go the next day, to the Thermæ.

THERMÆ DIOCLESIANI.

These were built by the Emperor only for baths. They do write that no Emperor, since, hath been of ability to build the like, containing so great a circuit, and adorned with so many columns and pillars of brass. The baths being furnished with most stately and rich beds, and all other necesaries beyond all comparison. Pope Gregory the Thirteenth hath transferred this building to an hospital; in which do stand eight mighty pillars of marble-stone, each one so big, that men can scarce fathom it about; in height they are ninety feet. Over-against the same, is a sweet and pleasant garden, wherein are divers memorable things to be seen. Then go to Monte Cavallo, where is the marvellous fair palace, and garden of the Cardinal Carpi, now the pope's; if you desire to see the same, address yourself to the gardener, who will shew you every particular in order, the palace being set out with admirable fair rooms, and chambers, richly adorned with tables of precious stone, and hangings of wrought gold and silver. In the garden are many strange antiquities, most delightful to behold.

The palace and garden, are situated on a high hill, and yet have water plentifully: give something to drink.

The Pope's Palace and Garden, which was formerly the Cardinals of ESTE.

You shall first see the garden which is marvellous spacious, three Italian miles; the same is full of rare and costly fruits, like to which are none in all Italy, besides many antiquities therein to be seen. In this garden doth the pope oftentimes dine and sup; let them shew you the rare fountain, which has admirable and pleasant spring water. Then go to the Grotto Sibylla, which is an incomparable pleasant place, adorned with mighty fair statues, giving water from them; just over this vault or grotto, the pope hath his chambers and dwelling. This palace was built by Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, much larger, and the rooms more richly adorned, intending to have the Consistorium kept therein, and not to go always so far as St. Peter's; but he lived not so long as to finish it. The next pope did accomplish it with water-works, in such sort, as it is to be admired how it was possible to lead the water up so high. In the garden, a man may take a most pleasant view of the whole city.

MONTE CAVALLO.

There you shall see two mighty horses of white marble-stone, made of one intire stone, as natural, as if they were living, insomuch that, in all Europe, may not be found the like. These horses did stand in the Thermæ Dioclesiani, on which two famous masters, that made them, did strive to shew their skill; a particular, worthy to be noted. Not far from thence is a smelting-house, and hard by, a horse cast of bell-metal, wonderful artificially, with the King of France sitting thereon, named Henry, most naturally, and were he living, the same should have been sent into France. The city is built round with strong walls, and mighty towers, standing near one another. The city of Rome is in compass about above five Dutch miles.

Hereafter follows what is to be seen without Rome.

TIVOLI, a Palace and Garden, three Dutch miles from Rome.

This is a marvellous stately palace. The keeper of it is a gardener; you shall see therein admirable rich furnished rooms, hung with cloth of gold and silver, and the beds adorned correspondently. Therein are also excellent fair statues, and tables of precious stone set with oriental pearl. In the great hall is an artificial water-chest. When the cardinal, in summer-time, doth dine in the same, the whole is made pleasing cold, by the spirting of water out of the said water-chest, from whence also, the wine standing on the table is quickened. The particular situation of the whole city of Rome, and the pleasant prospect thereof, doth present itself fully to the spectators in this great hall. Then you may go down from the palace into the garden, where you shall be led into a vault, or grotto, where you shall see a terrible downfall of water, from whence all the other artificial water-works have their motions. Then you shall be led to a place, where you shall hear the organs play melodiously, as if an artificial master did play thereon; but the motion is derived from the water-spouts, continually spirting as long as the organs do sound, the water being spouted higher than the tops of the spouts, at least the height of six tall men. Go a little further, and you shall see a dragon with four heads, spouting water the height of six men, with so great a noise, as if many many musquets were continually discharged, the water being of so black a colour, that it resembleth an ugly smoke, fearful to behold. Then you shall see the Grotto, named Sibylla, full of admirable antiquities and statues. The grotto, both above on the ceiling, and all over on the sides, is richly adorned with oriental coral and mother of pearl. A little further you shall see the temples of the Seven Planets, naturally resembling those which formerly stood in Rome; they are not very big, but standing exceeding pleasant, the one hard by the other. Not far from thence is an artificial water-work, which being let go, the birds do sing, sitting upon twigs, so naturally, as one

would verily think they were all quick and living birds, which is occasioned by the water; and, when they are in the midst of their best singing, then comes an owl flying, and the birds suddenly, all at once, are still Then go a little further, and you shall see twenty-fours quare stones, like chests, having on each side spouts, spirting water one against another; and, when the sun doth shine thereinto, the spouts and water do give a natural rainbow, notwithstanding the weather be clear; which is a very great wonder, and, whoso doth see it, would swear it were a natural rainbow indeed. Hard by are two excellent fine labyrinths, remaining green winter and summer: bestow something to drink, and then return to Rome again.

Hereafter follows the way from Rome to Naples.

From Rome to Torre a Mezavia, an inn, six miles; from thence to Marina, a little town, six miles; from thence to Velletri, a pleasant town, where is made much boiled wine (take heed of it) eight miles; thence to Cisterna, a little town, pertaining to the Cardinal Sermoneta, six miles; from thence to Sermoneta (lying very pleasant on a hill, a fine town, and strong fort, from whence they ring a brave peal of ordnance, when they understand that some person of note passes by; you must travel hard by the same; the Emperor Charles the First did write with his own hand, and on the altar, the year and day of his being there, but none of his soldiers were suffered to go up) seven miles; from Sermoneta to Casa Nova, a good inn, eight miles; thence to Ala Badia, an inn, eight miles; thence to Terracina, a town of the pope's, and there ends the pope's jurisdiction, nine miles; thence to Fordi, a little town (but, before you come thither, there is, by the way, a strong watch kept, being Neapolitans, who will make search what each traveller carries with him) it is named Alla Portella, six miles; when they search you, take that course which is usual at the places of custom, or at the gates, viz. grease one of them in the hand with a bribe, and they will presently dismiss you. From Fondi to Molla, a great market town, laying hard by the sea, where is exceeding good wine, and admirable cool fresh water; you may, in summer-time, dine and sup in a garden, under citron and orange trees; you may pluck of them as many as you please; there are excellent good fish also, free for every man to take.

Then go right over-against that, and enquire for the mighty strong fort, named Gaeta; it is about half a mile thither.

GAETA, A CASTLE.

This is the key of the kingdom of Naples; in the same do lie Spaniards in garison, and, hard thereby, lies a little town just on the sea-side. When you go into the fort, carry yourself courteously towards

the watch, promising a reward; there you shall see a fort so strong, as is not sufficiently to be expressed. In the same, are the fairest women by nature, that are in all Italy, being of a most courteous and friendly behaviour. From Molla to Corgliano, an inn, where you must pass over a great water, nine miles; from thence to Alla Bagni, or to the Gates, an inn, eight miles; thence to Castella, a little town, nine miles; from thence to Pozzuolo, a little town on the sea coast (if you will go into it, you must leave your swords with the porter in the gate) then to an inn, eighteen miles from Castella.

POZZUOLO, where have been the Baths.

Pozzuolo is a very ancient town, and, in former times, it hath been a mighty and famous city, but devasted. You may there enquire for one to go with you into the grotto, with a torch, where you shall see the Cento Camerelle, in English, the Hundred Chambers, wherein the prophetess Sibylla did dwell, and had her command; the same are over-grown with a hill. When you go a little further, there is a warm water (you must take heed you go not far one from another, lest you lose yourselves) you must bow yourselves in going, by reason of the great heat and damps of the baths. Under the same grotto have been most excellent baths, fitted for to cure all manner of diseases, and by each one was set a bill, signifying the vertue thereof, according to which, every person knew how to rule himself, and bathe therein.

But, on a time (by reason that the sick and diseased persons had no need of the physicians help, but did all of them resort to these baths) certain doctors of Salerno, physicians, that dwelt thirty miles from Naples, consulted together how to remove the cause that took away their gain and profit; and they went together, and, in secret-wise, did take away the bills that were written and set on the baths, insomuch that now no man knows the right virtue of them, or what diseases they are good for; and, as the said physicians returned home again, a great tempest on the sea overwhelmed the ships, and they were all drowned. Then go also without, up the hill, where you shall hear a roaring and tumbling very fearful to be heard, and there runs the water out so warm, that one may see the eggs therein. Hard by, you shall see the fire and smoke come out of the hill very fearful to behold, much resembling hell itself, as may be imagined; there is also a mine of brimstone, and, hard by the same, two terrible stinking holes, which are called Muffletti, from whence arises poisoned air, and, therefore, no man dare venture to go near thereunto, unless he will endanger his life. If a man doth lay a dog, or other beast therein, it dies immediately, but cast it presently into the water, hard by the same, and it revives in a moment; which is every day tried by strangers, and found true. Then go towards Naples, and you shall come by the way to Virgil's grotto, through which you must go, half a mile long; and, when you are out, look upwards, and you shall see a mighty grave-stone, fastened

into the wall, in which lies Virgil buried; the common saying is, That he built that grotto in one night, through the hill, by the help of his familiar ghosts.

NAPLES.

When you come into this famous city, enquire for the Black Eagle; the host is a Dutchman, who will appoint one to go about, and shew you what is to be seen. First, go to the palace of the viceroy, which is a very fair building; without, before the same, do watch, day and night, a company of Spanish soldiers; every evening, they march up and down with flying colours. Then go into the palace, and up the stairs, you shall see the Dutch guard-watch; they are one-hundred, suited all alike, and are maintained by the viceroy. Then go up into the hall on your left, where you shall see a very fair chapel; in this hall, the viceroy doth give audience every Thursday. There are wonderous fair rooms in this palace, and a most pleasant garden, and, therein, a fair tennis-court; out of this garden, the viceroy can go secretly into the palace; by reason of which, the strangers are not permitted to go into it. Not far from the palace, is an exceeding well armed house of artillery, wherein two-hundred gallies and gallcasses have room more than sufficient, and may be made in the same. This city ordinarily doth maintain, at their own proper costs and charges only, to attend the approach of the enemy, two-hundred gallies.

Then go to Monte Pizze Falcon, a hill, on which there is a fair palace, with a delicate pleasant garden; right over-against which is the strong castle and fort, named Ovo; it is also built on a rock where the palace doth stand; but it is cut off from the same, so that the sea surrounds the fort, and lies now in the water like an island. Then go towards the water-work before the city, named Porro Real, from whence all the conduits in the city have their original; it is also led into the wells, a thing most worthy to be seen and noted. Then go back again towards the Porta Capuan, where is a mighty fair palace, which, in former times, was the city's fort, but now the city council is kept therein. Therein is also the prison, in which are most commonly eight-thousand persons; this palace is called the Vicary. Go over-against the same, into the church, called Johan Carbonar; there the French Kings have had their funerals, who, in times past, did govern and reign in that kingdom; you shall see exceeding fine epitaphs and tombs, adorned with rich stone, and other curious works, so stately, as you have not seen the like, also with statues and pictures.

HOSPITAL NUNCIATA.

This is a wonderous fair hospital, wherein are continually a great number of sick attended. Every nation is there entertained and

accepted; each one has a clean bed, with all necessaries and attendance, as if he were at home in his own house, until he recovers, all gratis, which is at Rome in St. Spirito. So soon as one is received, he must presently make his confession, and then take the communion. Thereby, is a very fair church and steeple, appertaining to the hospital. Then go towards the church St. Clara, built by the French Kings.

Therein, are many excellent fair altars and tombs. A little further, you shall see a very fair monastery, named Monte Oliveto, wherein are wonderous rich epitaphs; all the monks therein are of noble descent, of the order of Carthusians.

The principal Palaces in Naples are these following.

The palace of the Prince of Layena; palace of the Prince of Calabria; palace of the Prince of Scala Siciliano; palace of the Prince of Salerno; the palace of the Prince of Bisignano; this excepted, all the rest are there always resident.

CASTLE NOVO.

This castle is a wonderous fort, built first by the French Kings, lying hard by the sea, provided and furnished with mighty great towers, bastions, and very fair ordnance, and there lie in garison two-hundred Spanish soldiers; therein are very fair habitations, inhabited with all manner of tradesmen.

When you come into the fort, you shall see, right over-against the court, lying a great iron bullet, under an iron gate, which was shut at that time, as they refused to yield to the Emperor Charles the Fifth; for, although the Spaniards had almost got in the fort, yet, nevertheless, the French defended themselves valiantly. When you come into the court, you shall see, on your left hand, certain stairs, under which is erected a statue of marble-stone, of a Frenchman, who, on the said stairs, with his two-handed sword, killed forty Spaniards, as is confirmed, before they could get up. By this castle, is a tower standing in the sea, as in an island, wherein, at that time, Frenchmen lay; and, after the Spaniards had got the fort, they could not overcome this tower, until they had granted, that the French, with bag and baggage, might, in safety, depart. This fort hath fine mighty towers, strong walls, and deep ditches.

Then go towards the castle Ovo.

OVO, A CASTLE.

This was also built by the French, and hath the name derived from the rock whereon it stands, which is like an egg: which rock is cut off

from the other that lies against it, Monte Pizze Falcon. This is a mighty strong fort, and a great defence to the city, furnished with brave ordnance and ammunition; there lie sixty Spanish soldiers, that continually dwell therein. Then go over-against the same, up the hill, where is a mighty strong fort, named St. Helmo; how the same was built, and from whence it hath the original, you shall read as followeth.

St. HELMO, a Castle.

This hath the original, as touching the building thereof, from the Emperor Charles the Fifth; for, as he rid on a morning to take the air, he came through the street, named Capuana, where the mayor and aldermen have a place railed about, and do therein assemble themselves, and, in publick, hold council, named Sedia Capuana. Now, as the Emperor came thereinto, and saw the arms of the city pictured, and two white horses thereby, without bits and bridles, as it were flying, and freely ranging about, the Emperor demanded what they signified. Answer was made, that, as free and unbridled, as the horse, were they also in the city. Whereupon, the Emperor immediately contrived to build this mighty strong fort on the hill, thereby to lay both bit and bridle in the horses mouths, that they should not run where they listed. For, by reason of this fort, the Neapolitans are bridled, that they dare not rise in rebellion. This strong fort is so well provided and furnished with ammunition and great ordnance, and situated, that it is almost invincible, unless treachery be amongst themselves. There is not one palace in the city, that hath not a piece of ordnance aimed thereat from the fort; and, if any in the same do but begin to mutiny, it is, in the twinkling of an eye, battered down. In this fort, are two-hundred and fifty Spanish soldiers, which do watch, and have their dwelling therein. And, although the city should be gotten and won, yet no enemy could remain therein, by reason of this fort, from whence each living creature would be destroyed.

There is not, in all Italy, a greater pomp in riding, nor fairer horses, than in Naples; and no where so many princes, marquisses, earls, barons, and gentlemen, riding up and down the streets, in brave attire, almost the whole day, attended with many servants, in fair liveries and suits; also an excellent haven on the sea, where the great ships and gallies do lie. This city is also provided with all sorts of merchandises, especially silk wares; and there is daily such great dealing, as, in other places, in the time of fairs. This famous city is also very great and spacious, always stored with the best and costliest wines, and all other necessaries plentifully are to be had. There is one street, named Lagrudeca; therein are above five-hundred shops, furnished with nothing but new and old apparel, to be sold. Lastly, this city is strengthened about with mighty walls and ramparts.

Hereafter follows the way from Naples to Malta, by water and land; but I would advise you, rather to travel by water; nevertheless, I will describe both ways.

From Naples to Terre del Grecho, six miles; thence to Barbarona village, seven miles; thence to Salerno city, nine miles; thence to Taberna Pinta Inn, ten miles; thence to Benola village, eight miles; thence to Duchesta Inn, nine miles; thence to Coletta a little town, ten miles; thence to Salla village, seven miles; thence to Casal Nuova village, nine miles: thence to Rovero Negro village, ten miles; thence to Castelluchia, a little town, nine miles; thence to Valle Santo Martino village, six miles; thence to Castoro Villore, a village, nine miles; from thence to Csaro village, seven miles; thence to Regina Inn, ten miles; thence to Consenza, a town of great traffick, especially for rough silk, twelve miles; thence to Capofreddo, a village, seven miles; thence to Martorano, a great hamlet, six miles; thence to St. Biasto, a market-town, six miles; thence to Alaque Fiche Inn, seven miles; thence to Monte Leone, a little town, nine miles; thence to Sala Petra, a market-town, eight miles; thence to Rossa village, seven miles; thence to Santa Anna village, nine miles; thence to Fonego, a market-town, nine miles; thence to Fiumara de Mori, ten miles; thence to the famous city Messina.

MESSINA.

This illustrious city hath an exceeding great and safe haven, or port, of the sea, where may ride more than four-hundred great ships; the like is scarce to be seen. There is an incomparable traffick by all nations. It is a great city, adorned with wonderous fair palaces and buildings. Principally this city is strong, round about, with great and mighty walls and ramparts. It hath excellent good wine, and all manner of provision throughout. The readiest way is to go by water, from thence to Naples, with the first opportunity, and then you may go to Malta, in three days. There go, oftentimes, ships to Palermo, which a wonderous fair and great city, worthy the seeing.

PALERMO.

This city lies hard by the sea, strengthened with substantial walls, and hath an excellent haven for ships. It was, a few years past, very fairly built and adorned; when you come into the city, you shall see a very long street, called il Cassare, or la Strada d' Austria; at the upper end of which, is the Viceroy's palace, in which he keeps his court; it is a very stately building, adorned with most excellent fair rooms and gardens, In this palace do lie Spaniards in garison, as also a guard of Switzers. There is also great trading and merchandising, with all sorts of wares transported thither from beyond the seas,

Then you may go from thence directly to Malta.

MALTA.

This is a principal and famous fort, of great strength, and the key of all Christendom.

The principal fort is named St. Helmo; as soon as you come near thereunto, certain of the knights will meet and receive you, and invite you to dinner or supper, and, according to the number of your fellow-travellers, you shall be well and courteously entertained; when the weather is fair and clear, you may see from thence the signal of the common enemy. The knights have eight gallies, to be always prepared and in readiness. And at such time, as from the fort, a sign is given of the approach of any Turkish gallies, then must always the gallies of Malta go out to meet them, and one galley must always fight against four Turkish gallies. For the gallies of Malta are exceeding well and strongly prepared and armed, and are, for the most part, all knights therein, for service fitted; none are spared, when need requires. The fort St. Helmo is so well fortified, and provided with all manner of ammunition, that it is impossible, by the art of man, to be overcome. There are also two other forts, St. Angelo, and St. Michael. The island Malta is, in circuit, not above seven miles, but a great number of villages are built thereupon; the husbandmen do all dwell along the sea-coast, and must, every foot, keep a strong watch, to prevent a sudden invasion of the common enemy of Christendom, as oftentimes falls out, and many of them spoiled, and their houses set on fire. As concerning victuals, and other necessaries, fit for man's subsistance, there is no want at all, for there is always sufficient transported thither.

Now I would advise you to return back again with the gallies to Naples: But you must go the right way, as from thence to Italy, Lucca, Genoa, Milan, and Venice, lest you come twice to see one place, and thereby other memorable things be neglected. When, by God's help, you are arrived again at Naples, then you go the nearest way to Capua, an ancient city, plentifully provided with all manner of necessaries for man; it is also of a good length, with a very fair and high stone bridge, like to which I have seen none. It lies from Naples sixteen miles; from thence to Carigliano, an inn (here you must go over the water) nine miles; and now you are on the former highways again, until you come to Rome, and High Siena. At Siena you may have horses to Pisa, which is thirty miles; a way to travel so pleasant, that one can judge no otherwise, but the whole way to be a most pleasant and delightful garden, all full of excellent, fine, fruitful trees, goodly villages, fair castles, and comely towns. In Summa, it is a paradise.

PISA.

When you come to this city, you shall be searched under the gate, to see what you carry with you. Say nothing, but only that you are students, and put a piece of money into one of their hands secretly, and they will let you pass.

This is a famous city, and an exceeding strong fort, which was yielded to the Great Duke, in the Seneser wars, but before, it was a free state of itself, and a republica; also Siena was, but afterwards, being overcome by Cosmus, Great Duke of Florence, and brought under his yoke, the fort was built to keep them in subjection. There runs also a great river through the city, called the Arno, which runs also through Florence; and not far from Pisa, it falls into the sea. There is also a wonderful fair temple (a cathedral) built all of marble stone.

On the side is built an exceeding fair cloister of curious work. They say it is very like to that built by the temple of Jerusalem. There is also a marvellous fair steeple hard by the temple, up to the top of which a man may ride on the outside, the stairs winding about the steeple to the top, as a snake on a tree. The stairs are adorned with rich marble-stone pillars, of all manner of colours, even to the very top. This steeple is built by mere art, hanging or leaning to the one side, as if it would fall at every twinkling of an eye, but when one is above, he cannot then discern the same. This steeple is held to be one of the seven wonders of the world, being built all of white marble-stone, like to which is none seen in the universal world. On the outside of the church is a round temple, covered with copper, and the doors with bell-metal.

This city is graced with many fair palaces and houses, especially the palace of the noble knights, in which they have their government. The knights do wear, for their order, the red cross of St. Stephen, which the Duke of Florence observes. This is provided with all manner of good victuals plentifully, especially excellent good wine.

Hereafter follows the way to Luca.

From Pisa to Luca seven miles. When you are gone half way, you shall come to a hill, from whence, on the one side, you may see Luca, on the other side Pisa, a wonderful pleasant prospect.

LUCA.

This is a very excellent and fair little city, and situated in the midst of the great Duke of Florence's country; which city, if the Duke could bring under his jurisdiction, he would then stile himself King of Tuscany. There is in this city a great trade with silken wares, the like to which is not in all Italy. The Pallavicini are the chiefest dealers therein, as the Fuggeri are in Augustia. Therein are most exceeding fair palaces and houses, and the streets paved all with fair square stones; there are many fair churches, as St. Martino, and an excellent market, where a man may have what his heart can wish for, at a reasonable price. There is most excellent wine. It is a very strong city, with mighty walls and ramparts, and the ordnance lying round about the same, and under the gates are kept a continual strong watch. This city is subject to none, and is the only free imperial city in all Italy. Then you may go to Livorno, which is an excellent haven-town, pertaining to the Great Duke of Florence; it is twenty miles from Luca.

Here follows the way from Luca to Cenona, and what is to be seen by the way.

From Luca to Mazzarosa, a little town, eight miles; from thence to Pietra Santa, a little town, eight miles; thence to Massacle Corara, a pleasant town with a castle, seven miles; thence to Sarsano, a very pleasant town, and there, in two strong forts, lying in garison five-hundred Dutch soldiers (for it lies just on the border of Cenona, pertaining thereunto) eight miles; thence to Laris, where you must pass over water, four miles.

LARIS, a Port.

This is a very fine little town; the wine is very good and cheap, and also bread. On the top of the hill is a very strong fort, and the ordnance thereupon carries over to the other side, to Porto Venere, which is a full Dutch mile; and also, an exceeding strong fort. Go over also thither.

PORTO VENERE.

This is also a fair town, and on the hill is a strong fort, and the ordnance carries over to the other fort, so that both these forts do assist each other; not far off this, is a town called Spessa, pertaining to Genoa. When they send soldiers into Spain, they do assemble themselves there. Between Spezza and Laris, is a very strong fort, pertaining to Genoa, called Santa Maria del Suorte, about two Italian miles from Porto Venere, wherein do lie Dutch soldiers, who, if you desire, will let you in, and shew you the fort; it is worthy the seeing, and built but of late years: Now I would advise the traveller to go from Laris, by water to Genoa, being one day's journey; but if you go by land, the way is described as followeth:

From Porto Venere to Remedio, a market-town, seven miles; thence to Porgetto, eight miles; thence to Martarana Inn, six miles; thence to Bracco, a market-town, six miles; thence to Rapullo, six miles; thence to Recco, six miles; thence to Bogliasco, all market-towns, six miles; thence to Genoa, six miles.

GENOA.

This is a fair and famous city and republick, where is a Duke, but elected by the senate of the city. When one dies, they chuse in ano-

ther, like as they at Venice do chuse a Duke out of forty-eight Clarissimi, and do cast lots for the election.

This wonderous mighty city is older than the city of Rome, as the historians do deliver. It is inhabited with brave nobles and gentry, and sumptuously built; you shall see a number of brave mighty ships excellently furnished with all manner of ammunition and provision. They lie here only to attend the approach of the common enemy.

When you come to the gate of the city, the customers will make search, to see what you carry; tell them that you are students, and enquire for a lodging, called Santa Maria, where you shall be excellently dieted. Enquire for Strada Nova, in which street are twelve most excellent fair palaces, built all of square pieces, being white and black marble-stone, richly adorned, with pleasant gardens; and certain of them have houses of artillery well furnished, and stately antiquities and statues. Go first into the Duke's palace, which is an excellent rare building, in which do watch continually five hundred Dutch soldiers, and have all their dwelling in the palace. When you go from your lodging towards the gate, out of which they go to Savona, hard by the same you shall see the palace of Prince Andrea Doria, general of the dukedom of Genoa, where you shall see wonderful rare things, besides excellent pleasant gardens, artificial water-works, and brave statues, and, principally, a wonderous well furnished house of artillery. You shall not find, in any city in all Italy, so many velvet-weavers, as in Genoa; they say, there are at least eight-thousand; but not any one of them is able to gain to themselves one piece of velvet in a whole year's space, so narrowly are they looked unto by the merchants.

Churches in GENOA.

Within the city walls are thirty parish churches, and the city hath seven miles in circuit. There are two principal churches amongst the rest; the one named St. Laurence, in which is a little chapel, where are kept the ashes of John Badall in a silver chest; and, they affirm, that, when there arises a great tempest on the sea, they carry that chest to the sea-shore, and immediately the tempest ceaseth. There are done also many miracles, as they say, in the thirty churches, by vertue of the holy relicks which are kept there. In the said church of St. Laurence, you shall see the dish of Semiraldo, and other precious stones, which our Saviour Jesus Christ made out of earth, in which, with his disciples, he did eat the Easter lamb, which was gotten, as Cæsarea was overcome, as is clearly noted in the chronicles.

The other church is named St. Bartholomew, without the gate St. Catharina, where is kept the *sudarium*, or the sweating cloth of our Blessed Saviour, as evidently it is found to be one of the three made by St. Veronica; by the same are done also many miracles. There is also without the city a very fair steeple, on the top of which they hang a lanthorn with lights, in the night time, that directeth the ships safety to the port or haven.

Genoa is as famous a principality, and as fruitful a soil as is in all Italy; there is the best wine of all others, and all sorts of excellent fruit. Now, if you desire to see Savona, take a boat; it lies but thirty miles from Genoa.

SAVONA.

This is a very fair city, lying on the sea wonderous pleasant; itis built exceeding well and richly, and they have great trading with wines, and other costly wares, into Corsica and Sardagna.. There is also a mighty fort, built very strongly, with main walls and ramparts, so well furnished with ordnance, and other ammunition, that it is almost invincible. Therein do lie one-hundred Dutch soldiers, and other forces; for the Turks oftentimes use to make inroads there, with forty or fifty gallies at a time, attempting to get the fort; but it hath always failed them, there being continually kept a strong and diligent watch, which is also very needful. Then you may go back again to Genoa, and from thence to Milan and Venice.

Here follows the way from Genoa to Milan.

From Genoa to Ponte Decino seven miles; thence to Buzzala seven miles; thence to Al Botho del Formari seven miles; thence to Al Isola seven miles; thence to Argua seven miles; thence to Saravalla, a little pretty town, where you may buy excellent good blades, rapiers, and swords, five miles; thence to Bettola, an inn, six miles; from thence to Tortona, a strong fort, eight miles; thence to Ponte Curon five miles; thence to Pancarina eight miles; thence to Cava, there set over the river Po, six miles; thence to Pavia city three miles.

PAVIA.

This city hath an excellent navigable water, which flows hard by, named Ticino. The city is very well adorned with fair houses, and churches, and hath a very large and fair market place. There is also a famous university, and an inquisition of late years erected; there are many jesuits. The city is marvelious well strengthened, with great and thick walls and ramparts; there is also a strong castle or fort, wherein are continually Spanish soldiers. It belongs to the principality of Milan.

When you go from thence towards Milan, you shall see by the way a monastery named Carthausa, and also the Park, about an Italian mile from Pavia, before which the famous battle was fought by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, against the French and Switzers, and thereby

Pavia overcome. The park, as you may well discern, hath yet part of the walls standing which were at that time.

CHARTHAUSE.

Do not omit to go in and see this famous monastery, for there is not the like in all Italy; richly built, and hath a mighty revenue; the church is built all of white marble-stone, adorned sumptuously with statues and pictures of oriental alabaster.

The cells of the monks are covered all with copper; there are besides things to be seen whereat you will wonder. Then go from thence to Binasco, a little town, eight miles thence; Milan is ten miles.

MILAN.

This is the chief city in Lombardy, belonging to the King of Spain. It is a principality, and round about strengthened with mighty walls and ramparts; it hath also great trading with all nations. When you come thither, I would wish you lodged at the Three Kings, or at the Falcon, where you shall be exceeding well entertained. Go first to the palace, wherein the viceroy or duke keeps his court, which is a very great building. Hard by the same have the Dutch guard their dwellings, and are eighty of them attending the duke, all suited in one colour: without this palace is the riding-place, being marvellous spacious.

CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

This temple is built within and without all of white marble-stone, comparable to which in greatness, and fairness, there is none found neither in Italy, nor elsewhere; every ounce of this marble stone wrought doth cost two quartrins, and five quartrins do make a penny English. In this famous building are organs of clear silver.

Go from this church to Cardinal Borromeo's Palace, which is a most stately building, adorned with main columns and pillars of marble-stone; there is also, by the cardinal, made a gallery under ground, through which he can go, not seen, into the church. Then enquire for the place where formerly malefactors were executed; there did stand a house of good fellowship or baudy-house, but the cardinal caused it to be pulled down, and in the place a great prison to be built. Then enquire for Santa Maria, which is an admirable fair building; thither are many great pilgrimages accomplished with great devotion, and Indulgentia plenaria the whole year throughout. When you go towards your lodging, you shall see an antiquity in St. Laurence-street, where

do stand twenty mighty great pillars of white marble-stone, in height sixty feet. They say for certain, that the devil, with his accomplices, did erect and build that temple in one night; but it had, as it seems, no good foundation, for it fell down again shortly after. The whole city is paved throughout with fair four-square stone. It hath brave broad streets. This city hath twenty-two gates, and doth write itself strong; at every gate are twelve-thousand well armed men, besides those that are no citizens, and yet inhabitants, which make in one sum two hundred-forty-two-thousand. Then go to the Citta della Capello or Castle.

CASTLE.

This castle or fort may well be said invincible, and may by no force, or man's policy, be gotten or overcome, but only by mere treachery; for there are two several forts in one, but so surrounded and fastened in and about with water ditches, that thereout may well be made three several forts. It hath also two great, mighty, and high towers, of four-square free-stone, and upon each one are planted three double cannons, and upon the walls of the forts are mounted on wheels five-hundred great ordnance, of bell-metal, continually charged. There lie in garison seven-hundred Spaniards, with forty Dutch, all attending the command of the Castellano or governor; there are also divers other people within the fort, so that there are continually therein at least one-thousand persons.

This fort is always provided with an overplus of all manner of provision and ammunition. It cannot be undermined, for a navigable water, that runs by the city, doth flow into the ditches, and in the same are fresh veins of well-water continually springing up. Also is this fort of late years better strengthened, by the building of five mighty ramparts; so that it is a fort strong beyond imagination; in fine, I cannot sufficiently express the strength thereof.

Here follows the way from Milan to Venice; and what is to be seen by the way.

From Milan to Margiano ten miles; thence to Lodia, a pleasant town, ten miles; thence to Zorlesco, a village, ten miles; thence to Pizzighiton two miles; thence to Cremona, a great city, twelve miles.

CREMONA.

This is a famous and pleasant city, adorned with fair and strong towers round about. It hath very fair and large streets, and brave buildings, and excellent good wine.

From Cremona, to Alla Casa della buona Voglio inn, ten miles; thence to St. Jacob Alopio inn, nine miles; thence to Mercari, a little town, twelve miles; thence to Castelluchio, eight miles; thence to Mantua city, ten miles.

MANTUA.

This is a marvellous fine city, and principality, wherein the Duke of Mantua keeps his court; it is excellent well built, all in morass or quagmires; when you come thither, lodge at the Black Moor, where you shall have one to shew you what is to be seen.

Go first into the Duke's Palace, but you must leave your weapons with the watch, under the gate; if the duke be not there, you shall see the great hall, and other rooms that are most worthy the noting, and also a most pleasant, adorned garden, in which is a great spacious hall, wherein the duke doth dine and sup in supper-time. This hall is made so artificially that, when two, standing in the midst of the hall, do talk one with another, they themselves do not understand their own words, but they that stand far from them, at the end of the hall, do hear and understand, plainly, every word, which is a thing to be much wondered at. One that knows not of this, may perchance talk with another, thinking in secret, what is heard of others, perhaps, to his great prejudice. This hall lies encompassed round about with quagmires, so that it is not easily to be overcome by any siege, unless it were for want of victuals. The city is adorned with an exceeding well furnished house of artillery, and great ordnance.

Here follows the way from Mantua to Padua.

From Mantua, to Alla Stella Inn, fifteen miles; thence to Sangneto, a village, twelve miles; thence to Montagnano, six miles; from thence to Padua, a great city, thirty-eight miles.

PADUA.

This is a far spread famous city, by reason of the great frequence and assembling of all nations thereunto, it being an university. There is an overplus of all manner of provision for man's use at a very cheap rate; there are excellent good wine, bread, fish, flesh, fowl, and fruit. When you come thither, lodge at Alla Stella, the Star; and there you shall see a brave garden, wherein the students do exercise themselves in the knowledge of herbs, especially, such as study physick. Upon the steeple, you may see Venice, if the weather be clear. Then go into

the governor's palace, and into the chancery; you have not seen the like in all Italy, for it is a place indeed of antiquities.

St. ANTHONY, a Monastery.

This is a wonderous fair monastery, of the Barefoot order: within it, is a great temple, where St. Anthony lies buried, in so rich a tomb of marble-stone and alabaster, as the like is seldom to be seen.

St. JUSTINA, a Monastery.

This is a mighty great monastery, of St. Benedict's order, which was built presently, after the battle was fought and won against the common enemy, and the building begun on St. Justina's day; it hath a great revenue, and every week is distributed, to all poor that come, a great proportion of alms, as wine and bread, &c.

St. DOMINICO, a Monastery.

This is adorned with exceeding fair tombs, and epitaphs. It hath also a stately income, and much is given in alms to the poor every week once. In this city are to be seen many excellent fair palaces and buildings, brave statues, and curious rooms, and pleasant gardens. The city belongs to the Venetian state, and is inclosed round about with very strong walls and ramparts.

BRIEF NOTES

ON

THE CREED OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

Quarto, containing eight pages.

'WHOSOEVER will be saved, before all things, it is necessary that he hold the Catholick faith.'

A good life is of absolute necessity to salvation; but a right belief in these points, that have been always controverted in the churches of

God, is in no degree necessary, much less necessary before all things. He, that leads a profane or vicious life, sins against a plain acknowledged rule, and the express unquestioned words and letter of the divine law, and the dictates of natural conscience; he wilfully refuses to advert to these monitors, and, therefore, can no way palliate or excuse his wickedness. But he that errs in a question of faith, after having used reasonable diligence to be rightly informed, is in no fault at all; his error is pure ignorance: Not a culpable ignorance; for how can it be culpable, not to know that, of which a man is ignorant, after a diligent and impartial inquiry?

'Which faith, except a man keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.'

By keeping this faith whole and undefiled, must be meant, if any thing be meant, that a man should believe and profess it, without adding to it, or taking from it. If we take from it, we do not keep it whole; if we add aught to it, we do not keep it undefiled; and either way we shall perish everlastingly.

First, for adding. What if an honest plain man, because he is a Christian and a Protestant, should think it necessary to add this article to the Athanasian creed: 'I believe the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, to be a divine, infallible, and compleat rule, both for faith and manners?' I hope no protestant would think a man should be damned for such addition. And, if so, then this creed of Athanasius is at least an unnecessary rule of faith.

Then, for taking aught from this creed; the whole Greek church (diffused through so many provinces) rejects, as heretical, that period of it, 'The Holy Ghost is of the Father, and of the Son;' contending, that the holy spirit is from the Father only. Which, also, they clearly and demonstratively prove, as we shall see in its proper place. And, for the menace here of Athanasius, that they shall perish everlastingly, they laugh at it, and say, He was drunk when he made this creed, Gennad. Schol. A. Bp. of Constantinople.

'And the Catholick faith is this.'

Catholick faith is as much as to say in plain English, the faith of the whole church. Now in what age was this, which here follows, the faith of the whole church? Not in the age of Athanasius himself; who for this faith, and for seditious practices, was banished from Alexandria in Egypt, where he was bishop, no less than four times; whereof the first was by Constantine the Great. He was also condemned in his own life time by six councils, as an heretick and seditious person. Of these councils, that at Milan consisted of three-hundred bishops; and that at Ariminum of five-hundred and fifty, the greatest convention of bishops that ever was. This consent of the churches of God, against him and his doctrine, occasioned that famous proverb, 'Athanasius against all the world, and all the world against Athanasius.'

For the times before and after, the curious reader may see Chr. Sandius's Ecclesiastical History; in which the learned author gives a large account, by that, and whose means, the Athanasian and Trinitarian faith did at length prevail, against the antient belief of but one God, or but one who is God. Therefore, quære, With what forehead,

the author of this creed calls this, the Catholick faith, or, faith of the whole church? When it is certain, it has been so in no age, and least of all in the author's.

'The Catholick faith is this, That we worship one God in trinity; and, trinity in unity.'

He means here, that we must so worship the one true God, as to remember he is three persons; and so worship the three persons, as to bear in mind that they are but one substance, or godhead, or God. So the author explains himself in the three next articles, which are these:

'Neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the substance; for there is one person of the Father, another of the Son, another of the Holy Ghost; but the godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one.' Therefore, all these articles make indeed but one article, which is this: 'The one true God is three distinct persons; and three distinct persons (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) are the one true God.'

Plainly, as if a man should say, Peter, James, and John, being three persons, are one man; and one man is these three distinct persons, Peter, James, and John. Is it now a ridiculous attempt, as well as a barbarous indignity, to go about thus to make asses of all mankind, under pretence of teaching them a creed, and things divine, to despoil them of their reason, the image of God, and the character of our nature? But let us, in two words, examine the parts of this monstrous proposition, as it is laid down in the creed itself.

'Neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the substance.'

But how can we not confound the persons, that have, they say, but one numerical substance? And how can we but divide the substance, which we find in three distinct divided persons?

'There is one person of the Father, another of the Son, another of the Holy Ghost.'

Then the Son is not the Father, nor is the Father the Son, nor the Holy Ghost either of them. I shall not need to prove this consequence, not only because it is evident, but because it is acknowledged by the Trinitarians. But, if the Father is not the Son, and yet is, by confession of all, the one true God, then the Son is not the one true God, because he is not the Father. The reason is self-evident, for, How can the Son be the one true God, if he is not he who is the one true God? After the same manner it may be proved, that, on the Athanasian principles, neither the Father, nor Holy Spirit are, or can be God, or the one true God; for neither of them is the Son, who is the one true God, according to Athanasius, and all Trinitarians. For they all say, the Father is the one true God, the Son is the one true God, and the Holy Ghost is the one true God. Which is a threefold contradiction, because there is but one true God, and one of these persons is not the other. But, if it be a contradiction, it is certainly false; for every contradiction, being made up of inconsistencies, destroys itself, and is its own confutation.

'The godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one; the glory equal, the majesty coeternal.'

The meaning of the last clause is, That the glory and majesty of the Son and Holy Spirit is equal to the glory and majesty of the Father; or, the Son and Holy Spirit are equally glorious and majestical with God the Father.

Therefore I ask, Whether the glory and majesty, with which the Son and Spirit are glorious and majestical, be the same in number (that is, the very same) with which the Father is glorious and majestical; or only the same for kind and degree? If it be not the same in number, then the godhead of the Father, and of the Son, is not, as this creed teaches, all one; and they are not one and the same God. For two infinite and distinct glories, and majesties, make two Gods, and three make three Gods; as every one sees, and, to say true, the Trinitarians themselves confess. It remains therefore that, they say, the glory and majesty of the Son and Spirit is the same in number, and not for kind and degree only, with that of the Father. But then it follows, that the glory and majesty of these persons is neither equal nor coeternal. Not equal; for it is the same, which equals never are. Nor coeternal, for this also plainly intimates, that they are distinct; for, How coeternal, if not distinct? Do we say, a thing is coeternal or contemporary with itself? Therefore, this article also doth impugn and destroy itself. Besides, if the glory and majesty of the three persons be numerically the same, then so are all their other attributes. From whence it follows, that there is not any real difference between the three persons, and they are only three several names of God; which is the heresy of the Sabellians.

In the next place, this creed teaches, that 'the Father is incomprehensible, uncreate, eternal, almighty; the Son is incomprehensible, uncreate, eternal, almighty; the Holy Spirit is incomprehensible, uncreate, eternal, almighty. Also, that each of these persons by himself is God and Lord; so that the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God. Yet there are not three Gods or Lords, nor three incomprehensibles, nor three almighties, nor three eternals or uncreated.'

Now if, in imitation of this, a man should have a mind to say: 'The Father is a person, the Son is a person, and the Holy Ghost is a person; yet not three persons, but one person. I would know, why this were not as good grammar and arithmetick, as when Athanasius says, The Father is God, the Son is God, and Holy Ghost is God, yet not three Gods, but one God. Or, when he says, The Father uncreated, the Son uncreated, and the Holy Ghost uncreated, yet not three uncreated, but one uncreated; and so of the rest?

Doth not a man contradict himself, when the term or terms, in his negation, are the same with those in his affirmation? If not, then it may be true, that, 'The Father is a person, the Son is a person, the Holy Ghost is a person, yet there are not three persons, but one person.' For all the fault here is only this, that, in the last clause, the term person is denied to belong to more than one, when, in the first, it had been affirmed of no fewer than three. For the same reason, it must be a con-

tradiction to say, 'The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, yet there are not three Gods, but one God.' For the term God is at least denied to belong to more than one, though, in the first clause, it was affirmed of three. Will they say, that in these words, there are not three Gods, but one God, the term God is not denied to belong to more than one, or is not appropriated to one? If so, then there are not three persons, but one person; and again, there are not three men, but one man: then I say, these propositions do not deny the terms person and man to belong to more than one, or appropriate them to one only; which yet every body confesses they do.

But here is a numerical, or arithmetical, as well as grammatical contradiction. For, in saying, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; yet not three Gods, but one God: A man first distinctly numbers three Gods; and then, in summing them up, brutishly says, Not three Gods, but one God.

To these things it will, perhaps, be answered, that when we say, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; or thus, the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God; the term God is used personally. But, when it is said, there are not three Gods, but one God; the term God is used essentially, and therefore comprehends the whole three persons; so that there is neither a grammatical, nor arithmetical contradiction. But this remedy is worse, if possible, than the disease; for it owns that there are three personal Gods, though there is but one essential God; and that, otherways, the propositions, of which we are speaking, would imply all the aforesaid contradictions. This remedy, I say, is worse than the disease; for, 1. Three personal Gods, and one essential God, make four Gods, if the essential God be not the same with the personal Gods; and, though he is the same with them, yet, since they are not the same with one another, but distinct, it follows, that there are three Gods, that is, three personal Gods. 2. It introduces two sorts of true Gods, three personal, and one essential. But the Christian religion knows and owns but one true and most high God, of any sort. And I would know of the Trinitarians, whether they dare say, in express words, there are two sorts of true Gods?

'For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity, to acknowledge every person by himself to be Lord and God, &c.'

By the Christian verity, I suppose is meant, the sacred books which contain the Christian religion; that is, the books of the Old and New Testaments. But do these books, and does this verity compel us to the acknowledgment of three persons, each of which is, by himself, supreme God and Lord, and yet, all of them together, but one God? Doth, I say, the Holy Scripture compel us to this contradictory acknowledgment? Is there any text acknowledged from scripture, which all the Unitarians, and some or other of the most learned Trinitarians, do not easily interpret in such sense, that the unity of God is preserved; and no more than one person, even the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, acknowledged to be God? See the History of the Unitarians. But, if there is no text of scripture, but what is, in the opinion of some or other of their own learned men, fairly capable of a sense contrary to the faith delivered in this creed, then we are not compelled to acknow-

ledge this faith. And the trruth is, the contest between the Unitarians and Trinitarians is not, as is commonly thought, a clash of reason with scripture: But it lieth here, whether, when the Holy Scriptures may be understood as teaching only one God, or but one who is God, which agrees with the rest of scripture, and with natural reason; we must, notwithstanding, prefer an interpretation of it that is absurd, and contrary to itself, to reason, and to the rest of scripture, such as the Trinitariain nterpretation, expressed in this creed, appears to be. In a word, the question only is, whethe r we ought to interpret Holy Scripture, when it speaks of God, according to reason, or not; that is, like fools, or like wise men?

'The Son is of the Father alone, not made, nor created, but begotten.'

Here, and in the next period, Athanasius is got into his altitudes, or profundities, which you will. Here it is, that the ignorant think they are taught the inmost secrets of theological knowledge; but high and low are not more contrary, than the things which are here affirmed as equal truths.

If the creed-maker had spoke here of the generation of the Son by the divine power on the Virgin Mary, it would have been true, that 'the Son is neither made, nor created, but begotten;' but then the first part of the article would be false, 'that the son is of the Father alone;' for he, that has a father and a mother, is of both. But, since he speaks of the (pretended) eternal generation, the latter part of the article is false, and inconsistent with the first part of it. Every novice in grammar or proper speaking knows, that begotten, when it is distinguished from made and created, always supposes two parents, a mother, as well as a father: It is therefore a contradiction to say, 'the Son is of the Father alone, not made, nor created, but begotten;' for, if he is begotten, he cannot be of the Father alone; and, if he is of the Father alone, he is not begotten, but either made, or created.

The Holy Ghost is of the Father, and of the Son, neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.'

The first fault here is, that the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father, and from the Son. To which heresy the Greek church have ever opposed those clear words, John xv. 26. 'When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me.'

Secondly, He saith here, that the Holy Ghost is not begotten, but proceeding; he adds, shortly after, that 'he, who will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity.' Therefore, surely begotten and proceeding differ very much, and very clearly; else it is an harsh sentence, that we shall be damned, if we do not conceive, besides all other inconceivable mysteries of this creed, that the Holy Ghost is not begotten, but proceeds. Yet, after all, it is now confessed by the most learned Trinitarians, that begotten and proceeding differ nothing at all; and that it is rightly said, 'the Son proceeds from the Father, and that the Holy Ghost is generated of both,' directly contrary to this creed. It follows, that Athanasius has damned the whole world, for not distinguishing, where no distinction can be made, at least with any certainty. And, perhaps, this damning hu-

mour of his has justly provoked some to write, not S. Athanasius, but drawing the S a little nearer, Sathanasius.

'So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.'

In consistence with what goes before, he should have said, two Fathers, two Sons, and three Holy Ghosts, or Spirits. For the second Person is the Son of the first, and the third proceeds (which is nothing else but is generated) from the first and second; which makes two Fathers, and two Sons; and all three of them are Holy Spirits; for the Father is an Holy Spirit, and so is the Son, no less than the third person. But this is not the first time, in this creed that Athanasius has discovered he could not count.

'In this Trinity, none is afore, or after other; none is greater, or less than another.'

Yet the Son himself saith, John xiv. 28. 'My Father is greater than I.' And, for the other clause, 'None is afore, or after other,' it is just as true, as that there is no difference between afore and after.' I ask, Whether the Son doth not, as he is a Son, derive both life and godhead from the Father? All Trinitarians agree, he does; grounding themselves on the Nicene creed, which expresly calls the Son, 'God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made.' But, if the Father gave the Son life and godhead, he must have both, before he could communicate or give either of them to the Son, and consequently was before the Son was. No effect is so early as its cause; for, if it were, it should not have needed, or had that for its cause. No proposition in Euclid is more certain or evident than this.

'The right faith is, that we believe and confess, that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is both God and Man.'

Then the Lord Christ is two persons; for, as he is God, he is the second person of the (pretended) Trinity; and, as he is man (a perfect man, as this creed afterwards speaks) he is also a person; for a rational soul, vitally united to an human body, is a person, if there be any such thing as a person upon earth: nay, it is the only thing upon earth, that is a person. Let the Athanasians, therefore, either say, that the Lord Christ is two persons; which is the heresy of Nestorius, condemned in a general council; or, that he is not a man, contrary to 1 Tim. ii. 5. 'There is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Jesus Christ;' or, that he is not God, which is the truth.

'Who, although he be God and man, yet he is not two, but one Christ; one, not by conversion of the godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God; one, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person.'

But, because these words, 'One, by taking of the manhood into God, not by conversion of the godhead into flesh;' and again, 'One, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person,' cannot readily be understood by themselves, therefore the creed-maker explains them, in this following article: 'For, as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ.' That is, as a soul, united vitally to a body, maketh one person, called man, without confounding the two substances of soul and body; for the soul remains what it was, and so also does the body; so God the Son, being united to a reasonable soul and

body, doth, together with them, make one person, called Christ, without confounding the substances of the divinity, or humanity; for the divinity remains, without the least change, what it was, and so doth the humanity, or reasonable soul and body. This is the only offer at sense, that is to be found in this whole creed; but so far from explicating, that it farther perplexes the difficulty of the (pretended) incarnation; as will appear by these two considerations:

1. In the personal union of a soul with a body, the union is between two finite things; but, in the (pretended) personal union of God to man, and man to God, the union is between finite and infinite; which, on the principles of the Trinitarians, is impossible. For we must either suppose, that finite and infinite are commensurate, that is, equal; which every one knows is false; or that the finite is united but to some part of the infinite, and is disjoined from the rest; which all Trinitarians deny and abhor.

You will say, if they admit neither of these, how do they shew the possibility of the incarnation, or union of God and man? They tell you, God indeed is infinite, and every reasonable soul and body, even that of Christ, is finite; yet the whole God and whole man are united; because, as the whole eternity of God doth co-exist to a moment of time, so the whole immensity of God is in every mathematical point of space. The very truth is, they cannot otherwise defend the incarnation, or personal union of an infinite God to a finite man; but, withal, it must be owned, that then the doctrines of the Trinity and incarnation do infer, imply, and suppose all the contradictions, that Mr. Johnson has objected to the doctrine of transubstantiation, in that little golden tract so deservedly esteemed by all. His whole book and all his demonstrations are founded on these two suppositions: That a longer time doth not all of it co-exist to a shorter; nor is a greater extension constipated or contained in a less; much less in a mathematical point. Therefore all his book, and all that he hath so well said and argued, in the preface, concerning the authority and judicature of reason in matters of religion, equally and effectually destroys the doctrines of the Trinity and transubstantiation. If the reader would have an excellent book, let him procure that. But oh! were the press as free for the Unitarians, as it is for other Protestants, how easily would they make it appear, that the follies and contradictions, so justly charged on the transubstantiation, are neither, for number, consequence, nor clearness, any way comparable to those implied in the Athanasian creed! And that the Trinity hath the same, and no other foundation with the transubstantiation! So that we must of necessity admit both, or neither. If the Church is to interpret Scripture for us, we must admit both; but, if reason, we can admit neither; and this, I think, the Trinitarians will not deny.

But, secondly, in the pretended incarnation or union of God with man, the union cannot be personal, as it is between the soul and body; i cannot, I mean, be such an union, as to make but one person. The union of the soul and body may be properly personal, that is, may constitute or make one person, because it is not the union of two persons, but only of one person, the soul, to a thing otherwise without life, reason, memory, or free-will. The body is but, as it were, the garment of

the soul, and is wholly acted by it, and depending on it. But, in the (pretended) union of God with a man, there are two distinct and very different lives, memories, reasons, and free-wills; which utterly destroys a personal union; for that supposes but one life, one reason, one memory, one free-will For, if these things, which constitute a person, are found more than once, there is no longer one person, but two, and consequently no personal union, in the sense of which we are speaking.

'This is the Catholick faith; which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.'

By believing, Athanasius doth not mean bare believing, but he includeth therein profession; for he saith a little before: 'The right faith is, that we believe and confess, &c.' So that a man cannot be saved, unless he believes and professes, as this creed directs him.

First, For believing. What if a man cannot believe it? Are we obliged, under the penalty of the loss of salvation, to believe it, whether we can, or no? Doth God require of any man an impossible condition, in order to salvation?

Secondly, As to professing, under pain of damnation. What if it be against a man's conscience to profess it? The scripture saith, 'Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin;' if therefore a man profess against his conscience, he sins; and if, notwithstanding this, a man must either profess, or be damned, then God requires some men to sin in order to their salvation. But this we are sure is false, and therefore that the menace in the article is vain.

And now I appeal to all men, that have any freedom of judgment remaining: Whether this creed is fit to be retained in any Christian, much less protestant and reformed church? Since it subverts the foundations, not only of Christianity, but of all religion, that is to say, reason and revelation: there being no principle in reason and in scripture more evident, than that 'God is one;' or, that there is one Almighty, only wise and good person, or father of all. If we cannot be sure of this, then religion and Christianity are built upon fancy only, and have no solid foundation.

This creed may be professed by the Roman political church, because it gives countenance to their absurd transubstantiation, and cunning traditions added to scripture; as those doctrines do to the gaining of veneration, and consequently dominion and riches to their clergy. But, in a reformed church, where the scripture is held to be a compleat rule of faith and manners, and also to be clear and plain in all things necessary to salvation, even to the meanest understanding, that reads it or hears it with sobriety and attention; such a confession of faith is, I think, intolerable, as being utterly inconsistent with those principles, and reducing us back to the Roman bondage.

Besides, nothing has been or is more scandalous to Jews and Mahometans, than this creed, the chief article of whose religion is, that there is 'one only God.' The evidence of which principle is such in nature as well as scripture, that it has propagated Mahometism among greater numbers, than at this day own Christianity; for the sake of

that one truth, so many nations have swallowed all the errors and follies of the Alchoran, or that of Mahomet; as, on the other hand, Christianity has been rejected and detested among them, on the account of the Christians 'three persons, who are severally and each of them God.'

But the mischiefs of this creed do not stay here. It is levelled not only against the true faith, but is also destructive of that love and charity, which is the spirit and life of Christianity; and, without which, faith is but a lifeless body. For, as if it would effectually inspire all its believers, with a spirit of judging, damning, and uncharitableness; it pronounces the sentence of eternal damnation, in the beginning, middle, and conclusion, upon all that do not both believe and profess this faith, and keep it whole and undefiled; that is, upon the whole Greek church, and other churches in the East; and upon at least five parts of six of all that profess Christianity in the world, whose understandings cannot possibly reach to the sense and coherence, which some pretend to find in this creed.

Thus the Christian religion is destroyed, in both the essential parts of it, faith and love. Hence have proceeded many and endless controversies, bitter animosities, cruel persecutions, wars among Christians; and, at length, the more fierce and violent, the more deceitful and sophistical part, have attained their tyrannical domination over their opposers; and have introduced and settled, a Christianity shall I call it, or, a superstition, or a polity, quite contrary to the doctrine and practice of our Blessed Lord, and of his apostles.

THE PARLEMENT OF BYRDES.

Imprynted at London, in Paules Churche Yarde, at the Sygne of the Lambe, by Abraham Uele. In Black Letter, Quarto, containing fourteen Pages

THIS is the parlyament of Byrdes,
For hye and lowe, and them amyddes,
To ordayne a meane, how it is best
To kepe amonge them pease and rest;
For much noyse is on euery syde
Agaynst the hauke so full of pryde:
Therfore they shall in bylles brynge
Theyr complayntes to the egle, theyr kynge,
And, by the Kynge in parlyament,
Shall be sette in lefull iudgement.

The Grype. The great grype was the fyrst that spake,
And sayd: Owne is owne, who can it take?
For thyne and myne make much debate,
With great and small, in euery estate.
The Cuckowe. I synge, sayde the cuckowe, euer one songe:
That the weake taketh euer the wronge;
For he, that hathe wyth vs moost myght,
Taketh his wyll, as reason is, ryght.
The Fawcon. Then aunswered the fawcon to that saw:
That pleaseth a prynce is iust and lawe;
And he that can no songe but one,
Whan he hathe songe, his wytte is gone.
The Commyns. Than all the byrdes, that coude speake,
Sayde: the hauke doth vs great wreake;
Of them so many diuers there be,
That no foule, ne byrde, may fro them flye.
The Hauke. The hauke aunswered the prating pye:
Where is many wordes, the trouthe goeth by;
And better it were to seace of language sone,
Than speake, and repent whan thou hast done.
The Sterlynge. Then sayde the sterlynge verement:
Who sayth soth shalbe shent;
No man may now speake of trouthe,
But his head be broke; and that is routhe.
The Hauke. The hauke swore, by his head of gray,
All sothes be not for to say;
It is better some be left by reason,
Than trouthe to be spoken out of season.
The Popyn Iaye. Then spake the popyn iaye of Paradise:
Who sayth lytell, he is wyse:
For lytell money is soone spende,
And fewe wordes are soone amende.
The Hauke. The hauke bad, for dreade of payne,
Speake not to muche of thy souerayne;
For, who that will forge tales newe,
Whan he weneth leest, this tale may he rewe.
The Commyns. Then desyred great and small
To mewe the hauke for good and all:
A place alone we would he had,
For his counsell to vs was neuer glad.
The Hauke. The hauke aunswered: Ye fayle, ye fayle all witte,
It is no tyme to mewe haukes yet;
Commyns of haukes can but lytell skyll,
They shall not rule them as they wyll.
The Nyghtyngale. Anone than synge the nyghtyngale,
With notes many, great and smale:
That byrde, that can well speake and synge,
Shall be cheryshed with Quene and Kyng.

The Hauke. The hauke aunswered, with great furye:
The songe is nought, that is not mery;
And who so no better synge can,
Maketh lytell chere to any man.
The Douue. Than rombled the douue for her lot:
Folke may be mery, and synge not;
And who so hath no good voyce,
Must make mery with lytell noyse.
The Hauke. Whant his reason was forth shewed,
Lerne, quoth the hauke, or ye be lewed;
For the byrde, that can not speake, ne synge,
Shall to the kechyne to serue the Kynge.
The Fesaunt. Than crowed the fesaunt in the wood:
Domme med, he sayde, getteth lytell good;
Wodde, nor water, nor other foode;
It fleteth from hym, as doeth the flodde.
The Hauke. The hauke sayde: Whan all is sought,
Great crowers were neuer ought;
For, I swere by my foly,
He is not moste wyse, that is moste ioly.
The Moore Cocke. Than crowed agayne the moore cocke:
The hauke bringeth much thing out of nocke;
The osyll whysteleth, and byrdes blacke;
He must haue a do, that a do doth make.
The Hauke. I must, sayde the hauke, by all my belles,
Say for my selfe, for none will elles:
He is not greatly to repreue,
That speaketh with his soueraynes leue.
The Byttur. Than blusshed the byttur in the fenne,
The cote, the dobchicke, and the water henne:
The hauke that doeth vs all this dere,
We woulde he were soused in the myre.
The Hauke. The hauke sayde: Wysshers want wyll,
Whether they speake loude, or styll;
Whan all this done was sayde and lafte,
Euery man must lyue by his crafte.
The Malarde. Than creked the malarde and the gose:
They may best flye that are lose;
He is well that is at large,
That nedeth not the Kynges great charge.
The Hauke. The hauke sayde: though they fle lose,
They must obeye, they may not chose;
Who hath a maister, or a make,
He is tyed by the stake.
The Heronne. Than creked the heronne and the crane:
Great trouble make wittes lame;
He is well aduysed, that can bere hym lowe,
And suffer euery wynde to ouerblowe.
The Hauke. The hauke sayde: Who can blowe to please?
Longe neckes done great ease;

Fos the commyns, that hath no rest,
Meneth not euer with the best.
The Partryche, Quayle, and Larke. The partryche, quayle, and larke in fielde
Sayde: Her may not auayle but spere and shelde;
The hauke with vs maketh great batayle,
In euery countrey, where he may auayle.
The Hauke. The hauke sayde; Who so wylfully wyll fyght,
May make hym wronge sone of his ryght;
Lawe is best, I vnderstande,
To ryght all in euery lande.
The Robyn and the Wrenne. Than chydde the robyn and the wrenne,
And all small byrdes that beare penne:
Against the hauke the commyns must aryse,
And helpe them selfe in theyr best wyse.
The Hauke. The hauke made the wrenne his answer,
Small power may lytle dere,
And who wyll lyue in rest longe,
Maye nat be besy with his tonge.
The Commyns. Than prayed all the commyn house,
That some myght the hauke souce,
For foule ne byrde, by water ne lande,
He wyll leaue a lyue, and he myght stande;
In his nest, may none abyde
In countre where he doth glyde;
Theyr fethers he plucketh many a folde,
And leaueth them naked in full great colde;
We think, therfore, by reason good,
To destroy the hauke, and all his bloode.
The Kynge and his Lordes. The Kynge and his lordes answered, anone
States may not the hauke forgone,
Nor by no law his kynde destroye,
Nor deme him selfe for to dye,
Nor put him to none other distresse,
But kepe him in a payre of iesse,
That he fle nat to no byrde about,
But his keper let hym oute.
The Cornysshe-daw. Then said the cornisshe-daw,
Lytle money, lytle lawe,
For here is nought els with frende ne fo,
But go bet peny, go bet, go.
The Hauke. Thou cornisshe, quod the hauke, by thy wyll,
Say well, or holde the styll;
Thou hast harde of many a man,
A tonge breaketh bone, and it selfe hath none.
The Kynge. Than answered the Kynge, and the byrdes by rowe,
Why cometh not to the parlyament the crowe?

For good counsell refourmeth euery mysse,
And it betokeneth where it is.
The Hauke. The hauke sayde, It is nat lesse,
Councell is good in warre and pese;
But the crowe hath no brayne
For to gyue counsell, but of the rayne.
The Nightwhale. Then sayd the nightwhale, with his heed gaye,
He shameth vs with his parlyament aray;
It is a tearme with Iohn and Iacke,
Broked sleue draweth arme a backe.
The Hauke. The hauke sayde, He shall thryue full late
That loketh to kepe a great estate,
And can nat, wyth all his wysedome,
Gette hym selfe an hole gowne.
The Pecocke and the Swanne. Then sayde the pecocke and the swanne,
Who no good hath, no good canne,
And lytle is his wytte set by,
That hath not to beare out company.
The Hauke. The hauke sayd, He is worse than wood,
That maketh hym fresshe with other mennes good,
Or ought wyll borowe and neuer paye,
Or with wrong getteth gallaunt araye.
The Specke. Then in his hole, sayd the specke,
I would the hauke brake his necke,
Or brought vnto some myscheuous dale,
For of euery byrde he telleth a tale.
The Hauke. The hauke sayd, though thy castell be in the tree,
Buylde not aboue thy degree;
For who so heweth ouer hye,
The chippes wyll fall in his eye.
The Kynge. Then sayd the Kynge, It is our entent,
To amande the crowes rayment;
And all the byrdes sayde, anone
Of eche of our fethers he shall haue one.
The Hauke. The hauke sayde, He may sone come to honeste,
That euery man helpeth in his poste;
For, as teacheth vs the learned clerke,
Many handes maketh lyght werke.
The Tytyffre. I say, sayde the tytyffre, we Kentysshe men,
We may not geue the crowe a penne,
For, with them that are sobre and good,
A byrde in hande is worth two in the wood.
The Hauke. The hauke sayde, I take me to my creede,
Who so will spende wit you he may spede;
Lytle ye gyue, but he wote why,
Ye make the blynde eate many a flye.

The Crowe. Than the crowe was put in his araye,
I am not nowe as I was yesterdaye;
I am able, without offence,
To speake in the Kynges presence.
The Hauke. The hauke sayde to the commons, By dene,
Enuy and pride would fayne be sene;
He is worthy none audience to haue,
That can not say but knaue, knaue.
The Commyns. Than asked the byrdes, by aduysement,
Who is that taketh to vs no tent,
He presumeth before vs all to fle,
To the Kynges hyghe Maieste.
The Hauke. The hauke answered to the white semewe,
It is the sory blacke crowe,
And for him fareth no man the better,
Let him crowe therfore neuer the greater.
The Lordes. Then sayde the Lordes euerychone,
We wyll aske of the Kynge abone,
That euery byrde shall resume
Agayne his fether, and his plume,
And make the crowe agayne a knaue,
For he, that nought hath, nought shall haue.
The Hauke. Then sayde the hauke, as some sayne,
Borowed ware wyll home agayne.
And who will herken what euery man dose,
Maye goe helpe to sho the gose.
The Cormoraunte. For the crowe spake the cormoraunte,
And of his rule made great auannt,
Suche worship is reason that euery man haue,
As the Kynges highnes vouchsaue.
The Hauke. It is sothe, sayde the hauke, that thou doest say,
Whan all turneth to sporte and playe,
Thou mayst leeste speake for the crowes pelfe,
For all thing loueth that is lyke it selfe.
The hole Parlyament. Than prayed the hole Parlyament,
To the Kynge with one assent,
That euery byrde her fether myght
Take from that proude knyght.
The Kynge. The Kynge sayde, ye shall leaue haue,
A knyght should neuer come of a knaue;
All thynge wyll shew from whence it come,
Where is his place and his home.
The Hauke. Now trewly, said the hauke, than
It is a great comfort to all men,
Of the Kynges great prosperite,
Whan the Kynge ruleth well his communalty.
Than was plucked from the crowe anone
All his fethers by one and by one,
And laste all blacke in stede of reed,
And called hym a page of the fyrst heed.

The Hauke. Quod the hauke, the crowe is now as he should be,
A kynde knaue in his degre,
And he that weneth no byrde is hym lyke,
Whan his fethers are plucked, he may hym go pike.
The Commyns. Than made the Commyns great noyse,
And asked of the Lordes wyth one voyce,
That they would the hauke exyle
Out of this lande many a myle,
Neuer to come agayne hyther;
But the Kynge sent for him thyder:
Hym to trust we haue no theson,
For it is proued in trust is treason;
And, sythe ye say, he shall nat dye,
Plucke of his hokes and let hym flye.
The Lordes. To that, sayde the Lordes, we pretende
This statute and other to amende;
So in this, that ye accorde
To put all in souerayne Lorde,
The Commyns. The Commyns sayde, it is great skyll,
All thynge to be at the Kynges wyll;
And, vnder the hande of his great myght,
By grace the people to seke theyr ryght.
The Hauke. Than sayde the hauke, now to, now fro,
Thus goeth the worlde in well and wo.
The Kynge. Than sayde the Kynge in his maiestye,
We wyll disseuer this great semble;
He commaunded his chauncelere,
The best statutes to rede that he myght here:
Thus the fynal iudgement
He redde of the byrdes parlyament,
Whether they be whyte or blacke,
None shall others fethers take;
Nor the ravyn plucke the pecockes tayle,
To make him fresshe for his auayle,
For the Commyns fethers want,
For wyth some they be ryght skant.
The Iaye. Thus sayeth the cosen of the iay,
That none shall vse others aray,
For who so mounteth wyth egle on hye,
Shall fayle fethers when he would flye.
Sapiencia. Be nat greedy glede to gader,
For good fadeth and foules fether,
And, though thy fether be not gaye,
Haue none enuye at the swannes aray.
Concludent. For, thoughe an astryche may eat a nayle,
Wrath wyll plucke him winge and tayle,
And, yf thou lye in swalowes nest,
Let nat slouth in thy fethers rest;
Be trew as turtyll in thy kynde,

For lust wyll part as fethers in wynde:
And he that is a glotnus gull,
Deth wyll soon his fethers pull;
Thoughe thou be as hasty as a wype,
And thy fethers slyght rype,
Loke thy fethers and wryting be dene,
What they say and what they mene,
For here is none other thynge,
But fowles, fethers, and wrytynge:
Thus endeth the byrdes parlyament,
By theyr Kynges commaundement.

AN

ESSAY ON THE THEATRES:

OR,

The Art of Acting. In Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry.

MS. Never before Printed.

Ex Noto Fictum Carmen. HOR.

TO THE READER.

Although I have ventured to call this poem, 'The Art of Acting' in Imitation of Horace's 'Art of Poetry,' yet I must observe, that I have rather made a paraphrase on his rules and thoughts, than kept to a strict literal imitation of them. I am sensible therefore, I shall be highly censured by those who are acquainted with those happy imitations of this part of Horace, Dr. King's 'Art of Cookery,' and Mr. B——n's 'Art of Politicks.' All I can say to such an objection, is, that a more close confinement to the text would not suit my subject, which I found was not foreign enough from the original to make it by such a method any way entertaining; yet I have endeavoured to keep as strong an analogy to the sense and manner of Horace as I could possibly. Perhaps, this intention of imitating the method of Horace has led me into a conduct, which may be imputed to me as an unpardonable error, and that negligence in the numbers, which

will often appear, may not be forgiven on my pleading, that in the versification I have been often negligent by design How far I am wrong in my judgment in this respect, I willingly submit to those who are acquainted with the original.

SHOULD Hogarth, with extravagant conceit,
Make a strange group of contrast figures meet,
Beneath a plume that nods with tragic grace
Limn the quaint drollery of H—psl—y's face;
Then to that face add Chloe's neck and breast,
Beauteous as thought e'er form'd, or tongue exprest;
Amass the properties of motley scenes,
Of gods, of kings, of devils, and of queens,
Strike out a form that Nature cannot brag on,
With crest of Cæsar and with tail of dragon,
Part male,—part female,—devil part,—part God,
Who could restrain a smile at sight so odd?
But, odd as such a figure might appear,
It is the just resemblance of a play'r,
Who rashly will depart from Nature's rule,
And rather wonder raise, than touch the soul;
Whose storms and incoherent actions seem,
Like the wild prattlings of a sick man's dream,
Which, while the fev'rish phrenzy may prevail,
Flow unconnected, without head or tail.
Actors and poets have an equal right,
By bold attempts, our pleasure to excite;
New talents still in pointed wit to show,
And make the stream of humour stronger flow;
Or in the tender, or the lofty scene,
Form a new harmony of words and mein;
Leave dull theatric precedents of art,
And with peculiar judgment catch the heart.
Bold are these liberties that actors claim,
And great their freedom in pursuit of fame:
Yet a just licence cannot give pretence,
To break the steady rules of common sense;
To strain the voice and storm with frantic air,
When * Oedipus appeals in moving pray'r;
Nor yet a slow soft whining tone assume,
When † peals of thunder shake the conscious room.
Some, when grave scenes should rise with awful state,
And all the heroe be divinely great,
Studious in vain, exert an idle care,
To please the eye, or gently sooth the ear:
In senate or in camp, in joy, or woe,

* In allusion to these lines in Mr. Dryden's play of Oedipus:
To you, ye gods, I make my last appeal, &c.

† Clasp'd in the folds of love: I'll wait my doom,
And act my joys, though thunder shakes the room.

The plume must wave, the voice must sweetly flow:
High character by length of train be shown,
And dignity by drawling out the tone.
Justly the plume may grace an actor's mein,
And the imperial robe adorn the scene;
Justly the numbers, flowing o'er the tongue,
May warble sweet as Philomela's song,
While vales, and dales, and murm'ring streams, which rove,
Gently mæandring through the flow'ry grove,
The subject are:—But, if ill-judg'd the choice
Of pompous dress, and modulated voice,
The * shape though rich, the voice though soft and clear,
With all a dull extravagance appear.
Both sometimes please; but this is not their place;
Consult propriety alone for grace.
Hayman † by scenes our senses can controul
And with creative power charm the soul;
His easy pencil flows with just command,
And Nature starts obedient to his hand:
We hear the tinkling rill, we view the trees
Cast dusky shades, and wave the gentle breeze:
Here shoots through leafy bow'rs a sunny ray,
That gilds the grove, and emulates the day:
There mountain tops look glad; there vallies sing;
And through the landschape blooms eternal spring:
But what's this art, should he such art perform,
And join it to the horrors of a storm:
Where quick fork'd lightnings gleam, loud thunders roar,
And foaming billows lash the sounding shoar:
Where driv'n by eddies with impetuous shock,
The whirling vessel bulges on a rock;
The hopeless sailor rearing high his hand,
And corpse on corpse come rolling on the strand:
In storm and landschape we might beauties find,
But wonder how they came together join'd.
Art rul'd by Nature must direct the soul,
And ev'ry gesture, look, and word controul:
Deceiv'd by specious right, most actors run
Into the contrast errors they wou'd shun:
Some, who wou'd gaiety or passion show,
With smart, lisp'd, catch make half-form'd words to flow;
Swift rolls of jargon sound, a rapid flood,
With not one word distinctly understood:
Thus, lab'ring to avoid a drawling tone,
An equal impropriety is shown.
Others, to seem articulate and clear,
With dull, loud, slow, plain sound fatigue the ear;

* The theatrical term for a Roman habit. † A young gentleman, a painter, very excellent in his art, whose scenes at Drury-lane theatre have always met with the greatest approbation from the spectators.

All words, all lines, the same grave cadence keep,
And drowsy lull insensibly to sleep:
While these, to prove that they no spirits want,
Out-bawl Drawcansir in the tragic rant.
Some few, who fear what critics may explode,
With plodding pace jog on the beaten road:
Content in acting just with common sense,
Ne'er dare to deviate into excellence:
Who never charm, yet never much offend,
Who with the merit they began will end.
But yet a brisker genius of the stage
Will try all arts, all methods, to engage:
Buffoonly dress, affect a monstrous tone,
Strike out the poet's wit, insert his own:
As sailor, or as clown, as beau, or play'r,
No matter what, or how, or when, or where,
Will scenes, will times, will characters confound,
To hear of false applause the vulgar sound:
Thus more they err who would their errors hide,
If they want solid judgment for their guide:
Near Covent-Garden does a painter live,
Whose pencil can most wond'rous likeness give
To the soft ringlets of the flowing hair,
Be they or red, or brown, or black, or fair:
Nor in this only does his art prevail,
He hits the finger, and the finger's nail:
Yet of the dolt how wretched is the case?
Who cannot give to half the picture grace,
Nor touch a single feature of the face.
Rather than act as such a man would paint,
Some trifling parts by meer luck represent;
But when a strength of genius should appear,
Still bound to grovel in my narrow sphere,
I would no more be such than noted be,
Alike for beauty, and deformity:
Than have Lothario's manly form and grace,
Topp'd with the shocking sneer of Clody's face.
All you who feel a gen'rous thirst of fame,
And from the stage a just applause would claim,
From the first moment you commence a play'r,
And strut at Smithfield or at Southwark fair,
Long as you shall a better fortune wait,
And strolling know variety of fate;
Just as the gods direct the chance of things,
Are this day coblers, and to-morrow kings;
Your genius try'd, consult the head and heart,
Dare not at flights; be equal to your part;
Damn'd you may be attempting Wildair's ease,
When in the * buffoon doctor you might please:

* The Mock Doctor.

On parts adapted to your talents dwell,
And be your only study to excell.
Hence they who judgment to their choice admit,
When cast to parts which will their genius hit,
Such case with such expressive force is shown,
They make the poet's sentiments their own;
Into the character so strong they fall,
It seems no longer art but nature all.
This must the method be, or much I err,
To gain just credit in a theatre;
To judge what parts may now, what then be play'd,
What to some future happier time delay'd;
Whose manner, or whose action they shou'd like,
How far at imitation they may strike,
What to improve, what shun, must well be known
To rise a fav'rite actor of the town.
Be cautious, though it long has practis'd been,
To add your own wit to the poet's scene:
Now to your written parts be strictly true,
Nor to the old insert one sentence new:
For ev'ry sentence new must licens'd be,
Nor are the actors more than poets free.
Yet it will shew a quickness of the mind,
And from the audience sure applause wou'd find,
If as by accident, and not by art,
You could add something new, and timely smart;
When some keen satire on some antient crimes,
You mark'd as levell'd at our modern times:
A new chance phrase, unknown an age ago,
Might strongly point out vices acted now,
And licensers will slips of tongues allow—
But be those slips most careful, for they hate
One word that marks a minister of state.
Hence such attempts should with great caution be,
And almost with the prompter's book agree.—
—'Tis said: Shall modern actors be refus'd
What all the old with liberty have us'd?
Why shou'd old Pinkey's jestings, and grimace,
Excell young C———r's witticisms or face?
Why shou'd our merry sires commend so high,
In their old droll, what we our new deny?
Pinkey cou'd raise much laughter we admit,
Yet equal C———r is in phiz, or wit:
But Pinkey cou'd his jokes secure invent,
Poor The's restrain'd by act of parliament;
Who wou'd not, C———r, at such act repine,
When it embargoes wit, — and wit like thine?
There are peculiar manners of the stage,
And various modes which vary with the age:

Why are they envy'd then, who dare pursue
Where genius leads to strike out something new?
In the last age gay * Mountford charm'd the town
With comic art peculiarly her own:
Shall not our Clive as just an honour claim,
Who fix'd on inborn excellence her fame?
Our sires to Mountford great encomiums raise,
Shall we not Clive wish equal ardour praise?
We great originals must both allow,
For all that Mountford cou'd be, Clive is now.
It ever pleas'd the town, and ever will,
To see old parts play'd with new humour still:
They who preceding actors will pursue,
And strive to bring a sameness to the view,
By the dull copy all our loss renew.
But when we see young players, justly bold,
Rise to perfection, we forget the old:
As in a play scenes vary by degrees,
And, though the various prospects change, they please;
So, when a band of antient actors die,
Another set the theatres supply;
Blooming with pride, they flourish, and are gay,
Then withering droop, and still to new give way.
Actors are mortal; and, at death's dire call,
Beaus, misers, rakes, coquettes, and coblers, fall:
He rules despotic, as o'er meaner things,
O'er green-room heroines, and buskin'd kings:
Their mighty empires mighty changes know,
And various revolutions undergo.
Even their seas and heavens have their date,
For——paint and pasteboard must submit to fate.
What will not change in time? That † noble square,
To which each morning many nymphs repair,
And o'er whose confines every evening rove,
Famous all day for greens, all night for love:
Though nigh D—ve—l, there fam'd piazzas give
Whores, gamesters, pickpockets, a means to live:
The R——ch of a new empire fix'd his seat,
And wanton'd indolent in gay retreat;
Till the calm monarch into dangers fell,
And had, to save his realm, recourse to hell:
——Strange fate of things!—‡ A serpent curs'd mankind,
But R—ch can blessings in a serpent find:

*Mrs. Mountford, afterwards Mrs. Verbruggen, was esteemed a most excellent actress in comedy, and so great a judge of acting in general, that Mr. Verbruggen, who was a very good tragedian, was said to have received his chief perfections from her instructions. How great her excellence must have been, may be imagined from her acting Bayes in the Rehearsal, with a judgment and vivacity equal to any who had ever performed it. † Covent-garden. ‡ These four lines allude to the entertainment of Orpheus and Eurydice, performed at Covent-garden theatre, to crowded audiences. The serpent, which is to kill Eurydice, with a kind of spontaneous motion, is moved about the stage, to the great admiration and emolument of the spectators: To view this serpent, the scenes of hell, &c. Ladies send their servants to keep places for them, at three o'clock, every time it is performed.

Hell to his bosom can true comfort give,
Him poyson cures, and devils make him live;
But this theatric realm, that noble square,
Shall fall in time, and change from what they are;
When not a * Burlington shall Jones restore,
And R—ch and pantomimes shall be no more.
If such piles perish, and such realms decay,
The modes of acting change as well as they.
As acting is to represent mankind,
Actors new method in each age must find;
As fashions vary, or as humours change;
Attempt this year what they might last think strange:
For so the player in esteem is plac'd,
Who hits with most success the reigning taste.
Be what it will to hit that wins the heart,
Supposes judgment, and it shews an art.
To shew old heroes, and make armies fight,
Gave in Eliza's warlike reign delight;
Then Shakespear wrote of battles, wars, and kings,
And sung in noble numbers noble things;
From him what deeds have tragic heroes done!
And on a six foot stage what empires lost and won!
Beaumont and Fletcher with great spirit drew
The gay and genteel character to view;
Shew'd how warm youth to gallantry could rove,
And taught the pleasing dialogue of love;
Such parts we saw Wilks hit with sprightly ease,
And, hap'ly catching Nature's foibles, please:
Here Oldfield gave an excellence of art,
Who in these antique scenes cou'd fire the heart:
Her elegance of judgment made all new,
That wit e'er spirited, or nature drew.
Greatly endow'd with knowledge of mankind,
Ben † first the humour of the stage refin'd:
Gave to the play'rs new plans of comic wit,
Which wou'd of great variety admit;
Requir'd the actors utmost skill and care,
For he drew men; and drew them as they were.
To represent his characters, must be
A knowledge of mankind through each degree:
He left such drama for the modern stage,
In which, who most excel, in all will most engage.
Dave'nant ‡ in Opera's gave the tuneful song,
And to the drama made new arts belong:

* The Earl of Burlington, at his own expence, repaired Covent-garden church, which was built by Sir Inigo Jones, and is reckoned as fine a structure as any in England. † Ben Johnson. ‡ In this account of Sir William Dav'enant I follow theatrical tradition, but cannot reckon him the first who introduced singing, scenes, and machines on the stage; for in Ben Johnson's masques there is very pompous machinery and scenery described, which are often said by the poet to be the designs and performances of Sir Inigo Jones.

He first, instead of Arras painted scenes,
And heroes show'd descending in machines;
Join'd music's power to the actor's art,
By double charms to captivate the heart:
But thus to please imperfectly he taught;
Dalton * this art to full perfection brought;
Whose happy skill made Milton's noble strain
Inspire the soul, and dignify the scene;
With awe the poet's lofty sense we hear,
Then notes with sweetest graces charm the ear.
Now virtue's praise affects the gen'rous mind,
Now still new joys by music's aid we find:
Two great alternate arts our passions move,
Sway'd with the force of virtue and of love.
By whom were scenes of Harlequin begun,
By some French dancer, or our native † Lun?
Though they dispute, no connoisseurs can fix:
Some say Lun brought, some say improv'd the tricks:
But who in mottled coat first charm'd the rout,
Theatric hist'ry leaves us room to doubt.
Through all this various drama of the stage,
In any part whoever wou'd engage,
To gain applause from judges must excell:
'Tis wretched to be tolerably well.
Why as just actors shou'd we those admit,
Who will appear in characters unfit?
In other parts be pleasing as they will,
Whene'er they fail, they shew their want of skill:
Why should the greatest player not be told,
Of glaring faults, and be by sense controul'd?
Better it were by decent hints be taught,
Than one night lose the fame, in five they got.
A happy genius for low-humour'd farce,
Ill wou'd attempt the sound of tragic verse:
A mottley tone wou'd break through all the style,
And dangling, awkward action make us smile.
Should Nell turn heroine, as Pistol deigns,
On Buskin's ‡ two foot high, to fill the scenes,
All wou'd, as Jobson's wife had a new change,
Pity a metamorphosis so strange:
But when the little heroe we behold,
In burlesque pomp, self-confident, and bold,
Roll round his goggling eyes with awful grin,
And thump his heart,—to show it touch'd within:

* The gentleman who adapted the masque of Comus to the stage, and by a judicious disposition of the scenes, and some collections from Milton's writings, has given the public one of the noblest performances that was ever seen on the English Theatre. † Lun, a fictitious name which Mr. R—h assumed on his first performing the character of Harlequin, and which he has ever since retained. ‡ The principal character in the farce, called, The Devil to pay, or The Wives Metamorphos'd.

His tragi-comic countenance, and strid,
With hearty laughter shakes our quav'ring side.
Some, not content their excellence to show,
Strive to reveal their imperfections too.
Confin'd to proper walks wou'd actors be,
All wou'd appear with more propriety.
Yet I allow that, in the comic scene,
Some who excel, excel in tragic strain:
And some, who justly reach the tragic style,
In comic scenes as justly make us smile:
He who, in 'Rule a Wife,' can hit the part
Of ideot folly, must then rouze the heart,
Lose in becoming dignity the fool,
And prove with tragic grandeur he will rule.
Nor do th' Othello's of the stage disdain,
In hum'rous guise, to touch the comic vein,
To change the heroe for the fat old knight,
And with Jack Falstaff's drollery delight.
Fame gives this rule, if we to fame may trust,
Tragedians only act a Falstaff just:
In this, indeed, long famous have they been,
For Betterton was matchless, now is Quin.
'Tis not sufficient to repeat a part
With proper accent; it must reach the heart:
The actor to the audience must reveal,
He has the will, and faculty to feel:
Mov'd in himself, all others he controuls,
Commands their thoughts, and agitates their souls.
When Cato gives his little senate laws,
What bosom pants not in his gen'rous cause?
But shou'd, while we the character revere,
See the great patriot sink into the play'r;
See him look round box, gallery, and pit,
Nor the least seeming thought of Rome admit;
Who wou'd not laugh to think that this survey
Was to mark out some friend, as, who shou'd say,
'Pox o' this stuff—Let Rome be lost or won,
'We'll drink our bottle when the play is done.'
All actors are to seem what they are not;
Which to perform, themselves must be forgot:
Their mind must lost in character be shown,
Nor once betray a passion of their own;
Must to the business of the stage attend,
And heighth of action with their silence blend:
Or in the front, aside, or back retir'd,
Something to do, or seem, is still requir'd:
This common rule shou'd practis'd be by all,
From Jobson chaunting in the cobler's stall,
To Cæsar thund'ring in the capitol.

'Tis not enough if you can catch the cue,
A strict attention's to the audience due;
Gaze not around on them; they do not pay
To see you turn spectators, but to play.
If you are curious, there are other means,
From the loop'd curtain, or behind the scenes.
When in old parts you venture to pursue
A manner of your own, to make them new,
Still to the character be strictly true.
To act Macheath more merit must you bring,
Than thrill a ballad, and with quaver sing;
A manly gesture and a sprightly air
Must with a proper dignity appear;
The gay mock heroe must our passions move,
By joy, by courage, in distress, and love.
Some parts 'tis danger to attempt at all,
When late we've seen a great original;
We by the first impression are so wrought,
All copies, though well copy'd, have much fault:
Nor is this partial prejudice alone;
The author's sense to the first actor's shown:
In the full spirit, and becomes his own:
Hence, Walker, though we many Macheaths view,
The standard excellence remains in you.
Sometimes a poet, studiously absurd,
Fit for one person only writes each word:
Or could Miss * Lucy the first night survive,
Had not each word adapted been for Clive?
Lucy, or Lappet, or her fav'rite Nell,
May copy'd be—she only will excell.
Some to the stage unus'd, unskill'd, untaught,
To charm at first appearance have been brought,
And, of applause secure, assume a part
Requires experience and the nicest art;
The pompous bill proclaims it o'er and o'er,
They ne'er 'appear'd on any stage' before
And when they've once appear'd—appear no more.
So have I seen large-letter'd bills proclaim,
(In red lines France was mark'd, in black the name)
The celebrated H———n was to dance
His first performance since arriv'd from France:
—The house was crowded;—the third act was done;
A chorus figur'd entry brought him on:
He came;—he caper'd once;—and off he run.—
The pomp so solemn ended in a joke,
For, ah! the string that ty'd his breeches broke.
Vain all the puffs to publick papers sent;
Vain all the arts ev'n C--bb--r could invent;

* Miss Lucy; a character in the Virgin Unmask'd.

What skill do bills or advertisements lend?
On merit only must success depend.
Booth ne'er attempted, in a pompous way,
To reach perfection in his first essay;
Through many countries had he stroling been,
Trod many stages, and play'd many a scene,
Before the British Roscius he became;
And fix'd, while Britain's stage shall last, his name:
He knew experienc'd truths must gain his cause,
Nor made small fame to follow small applause;
Commanding of respect, his step, his look,
Invited all attention e're he spoke:
With what a majesty he mov'd along!
How tuneful flow'd the periods of his tongue!
Inform'd by nature, and improv'd by art,
Speaking, or silent, he won ev'ry heart,
Or all admiring listen'd with surprize,
Or on his graceful form they fed their raptur'd eyes;
The fiction lost, they realiz'd the scene,
And saw entranc'd a heroe live again.

'Tis said, as actors on the stage make known
All others foibles, nor reveal their own,
Many there are, who've sat out many 'play,
Nor went near the twelfth hour fatigu'd away;
Who on the stage the players have admir'd,
Have wish'd to know their humours, when retir'd:
They of strange things behind the curtain hear,
And wonder what those famous green-rooms are.
For fame says many go behind the scenes,
To romp with goddesses, and joke with queens,
With half-drunk bishops talk of smutty things,
Bow'd to by emp'rors, and shook hands by kings.

There scenes conceal'd from common light arise,
Whose humour pleases, and whose themes surprise:
In all according to their rank you find
Various behaviour, and as various mind;
All with peculiar oddities engage,
From him who sweeps, to him who rules the stage.

These, Muse, relate:—But why this sudden pause,
Vers'd in their arts, their humours, and their laws?
When what to think and what to say I know,
Why will not ev'n prosaic numbers flow?
—Some God indulgent twitches by the ear,
And kindly whispers,—'Too rash bard, forbear;
'Enough hast thou traduc'd Horatian rules,
'Indulging fancy, and describing fools;
'In imitation should your verse succeed,
'When such the subject, who the verse will read?
'What publick benefit will it impart
'To know a player's humour, or his art?

'—Humour be what it will, if just, is lov'd—,
'E're you write more see what you've wrote approv'd:
'Then of the stage the various theme prolong,
'Or wisely here for ever close your song.'

NENNIUS, A WORTHY BRITON,

The very Pattern of a valiant, noble, and faithful Subject,

Encountering with Julius Cæsar, at his first Coming into this Island, was by him Death-wounded; yet nevertheless he got Cæsar's Sword, put him to Flight, slew therewith Labienus, a tribune of the Romans, endured Fight till his Countrymen won the Battle, died fifteen Days after. And now encourageth all good Subjects to defend their Country from the Power of foreign and usurping Enemies.

About the Year before Christ, 52.

MS.

I MAY, by right, some later writers blame
Of stories old, as rude, or negligent;
Or else I may them well unlearned name,
Or heedless, in those things about they went:
Some time on me as well they might have spent,
As on such traitors, tyrants, harlots, those,
Which, to their countries, were the deadliest foes.

Me, for myself, I would not this recite,
Although I have occasion good thereto;
But sure, methinks, it is too great despite,
These men to others, and their countries, do:
For there are Britons, neither one or two,
Whose names in stories scarcely once appear,
And yet their lives examples worthy were.

'Tis worthy praise, I grant, to write the ends
Of vicious men, and teach the like beware:
For what hath he of virtue, that commends
Such persons lewd, as nought of virtues care?
But for to leave out those praise-worthy are

Is like as if a man had not the skill
To praise the good, but discommend the ill.

I crave no praise, although myself deserv'd
As great a laud, as any Briton yore:
But I would have it told how well I serv'd
My prince and country, faith to both I bore:
All noble hearts hereby, with courage more,
May both their foreign foes in fight withstand,
And of their enemies have the upper hand.

Again, to shew how valiant then we were,
You Britons good, to move your hearts thereby
All other nations less in fight to fear,
And, for your country, rather so to die,
With valiant, haughty courage, as did I,
Than live in bondage, service, slavery, thrall
Of foreign powers, which hate your manhood all:

Do give me leave to speak but even a while,
And mark, and write this story I thee tell:
By north from London, more than fifty mile,
There lies the Isle of Ely, known full well,
Wherein my father built a place to dwell;
And, for because he liked well the same,
He gave the place 'He Ely hight,' his name.

'Tis nam'd the Isle of Ely, yet, perdy,
My father nam'd it so; yet * writers miss,
Or, if I may be bold to say, they lye
Of him, which tell that far untruth-like is.
What truth, I pray you, seems to be in this?
He Ely lov'd, a goodly place built there,
Most it delighted, reign'd not full a year.

He reigned forty years, as others tell;
Which seems, as 'tis a tale, more true by far:
By justice guided he his subjects well,
And liv'd in peace, without the broils of war:
His children's noble acts in stories are,
In vulgar tongue; but nought is said of me,
And yet I worthy was, the young'st of three.

His eldest son and heir was after King;
A noble prince, and he was named Lud;
Full politick and wise in every thing,
And one that will'd his country always good:
Such uses, customs, statutes he withstood,
As seem'd to bring the publick weal's decay,
And them abolish'd, broke, repeal'd away.

* Lanquet, Stowe, Grafton, Flores Historici.

So he the walls of 'Troy the New' renew'd,
Inlarg'd them made, with forty tow'rs about;
And, at the west-side of the wall, he view'd
A place for gates, to keep the enemies out:
There made he prisons for the poor bankrout,
Nam'd Ludgate, yet the freemen debtors, free
From hurt, till with their creditors they 'gree.

Some say, the city also took the name
Of Lud my brother, for he it repair'd;
And I must needs, as true, confess the same.
For why? That time no cost on it he spar'd.
He still increas'd and peopled every ward;
And bade them aye Kaer Lud the city call,
Or Ludstown; now you name it London all.

At length he dy'd, his children under age,
The elder named was Androgeus,
Committing both unto my brother's charge:
The younger of them hight Tennancius.
The Britons, wanting aged rulers thus,
Chose, for that time, Cassibellane their King,
My brother justice meant in every thing.

The Roman then the mighty Cæsar fought,
Against the Galls, and conquer'd them by might:
Which done, he stood on shores, where see he mought
The ocean seas, and Britain cliffs full bright;
Quoth he, What region lies there in my sight?
Methinks some island in the seas I see,
Not yet subdu'd, nor vanquish'd yet by me.

With that they told him, we the Britons were,
A people stout, and fierce in feats of war.
Quoth he, The Romans never yet, with fear
Of nation rude, was daunted off so far;
We therefore mind to prove them what they are;
And, therewithal, the letters hither sent,
By those ambassage brought, and thus they went:

C. Julius Cæsar, Dictator of Rome, to Cassibellane, King of Britain, sendeth greeting.

Since that the Gods have given us all the west,
As subjects to our Roman empire high;
By war, or as it seemed, Jove the best,
Of whom we Romans came, and chiefly I.

Therefore to you, which in the ocean dwell,
As yet not underneath subjection due,
We send our letters, greeting, were ye well;
In warlike cases, thus we deal with you.

First that you, as the other regions, pay
Us tribute yearly, Romans we require;
Then that you will, with all the force you may,
Withstand our foes, as yours, with sword and fire.

And thirdly, that by these you pledges send,
T' assure the covenants, once agreed by you:
So, with your danger less, our wars may end,
Else bid we war; Cassibelane, adieu.

CÆSAR.

No sooner were these Cæsar's letters seen,
But straight the King for all his nobles sent:
He shewed them what their ancestors had been,
And pray'd them tell, in this, their whole intent.
He told them whereabout the Romans went,
And what subjection was, how servile they
Should be, if Cæsar bore their pomp away.

And all the Britons, even as set on fire,
(Myself not least inflamed was to fight)
Did humbly him in joyful wise require,
That he his letters would to Cæsar write,
And tell him plain, he pass'd not of his spite.
We pass'd at little, of the Romans we,
And less than they of us, if less might be.

Wherefore, the joyful King again reply'd,
Through counsel wise of all the nobles had.
By letters he the Romans hosts defy'd:
Which made the Britons haughty hearts full glad.
No doubt, the Romans more than half were mad,
To hear his letters written, thus they went,
Which he again to mighty Cæsar sent:

Cassibellane, King of Britain, te C. Julius Cæsar, Dictator, sendeth answer.

As thou, O Cæsar, writ'st, the Gods have given to thee
The West; so I reply, They gave this island me.
Thou say'st, You Romans, and thyself, of Gods descend;
And dar'st thou then to spoil our Trojan blood pretend?

Again, though Gods have giv'n thee all the world as thine;
That's parted from the world, thou get'st no land of mine.
And since likewise of Gods we came, a nation free,
We owe no tribute, aid, or pledge, to Rome or thee.

Retract thy will, or wage thy war, as likes thee best,
We are to fight, and rather, than to friendship press'd;
To save our country from the force of foreign strife,
Each Briton here is well content to venture life.
We fear not of the end, or dangers thou dost tell;
But use thy pleasure, if thou may'st; thus fare thou well.

CASSIBELLANE.

When Cæsar had receiv'd his answer so,
It vex'd him much; he fully straight decreed
To wage us war, and work us, Britons, woe:
Therefore he hasted hitherward with speed;
We Britons here prepar'd ourselves, with heed,
To meet the Romans, all in warlike wise,
With all the force and speed we might devise.

We Britons then far deem'd it meeter much,
To meet him first at th' entry on this land,
Than for to give an entry here to such,
Might, with our victuals, here ourselves withstand.
'Tis better for thy enemy to aband,
Quite from thy borders, to a stranger soil,
Than he, at home, thee and thy country spoil.

Wherefore we met him, at his entry in,
And pitch'd our camps directly in his way:
We minded sure to lose, or else to win
The praise, before we pass'd from thence away.
So when that both the armies were in ray,
And trumpet's blast on every side was blown,
Our minds to either each were quickly known.

We joined battle, fiercely both we fought;
The Romans to enlarge their empire's fame,
And we, with all the force and might we mought,
To save our country, and to keep our name.
(O worthy Britons, learn to do the same)
We broke the rays of all the Roman host,
And made the mighty Cæsar leave his boast.

Yet he, the worthiest captain ever was,
Brought all in ray, and fought again a-new;
His skilful soldiers he could bring to pass
At once, for why his trainings all they knew.

No sooner I his noble corps did view,
But in I broke amongst the captain's band,
And there I fought with Cæsar hand to hand.

O God, thou might'st have given a Briton grace,
T' have slain the Roman Cæsar noble then;
Which sought his blood the Britons to deface,
And bring, in bondage, valiant worthy men:
He never should have gone to Rome again,
To fight with Pompey, or his peers to slay,
Or else to bring his country in decay.

It joy'd my heart to strike on Cæsar's crest,
O Cæsar, that there had been none but we;
I often made my sword to try thy breast,
But Lady Fortune did not look on me.
I able was, methought, with Cæsars three
To try the case: I made thy heart to quake,
When on thy crest with mighty strokes I strake.

The strokes, thou struck'st me, hurt me not at all,
For why, thy strength was nothing in respect;
But thou hadst bath'd thy sword in poison all,
Which did my wound not deadly else infect.
Yet was I, or I parted thence bewreck'd,
I got thy sword from thee, for all thy fame,
And made thee fly, for fear to eat the same.

For, when thy sword was in my target fast,
I made thee fly, and quickly leave thy hold;
Thou never wast, in all thy life, so gast,
Nor durst again be ever half so bold.
I made a number of Roman hearts full cold.
Fight, fight, you noble Britons, now, quoth I,
We never all will unrevenged die.

What, Cæsar, though thy praise and mine be odd?
Perhaps the stories scarce remember me:
Though poets all of thee do make a God,
Such simple fools in making Gods they be.
Yet, if I might my case have try'd with thee,
Thou never hadst return'd to Rome again,
Nor, of thy faithful friends, been beastly slain.

A number Britons, might'st thou there have seen,
Death-wounded fight, and spoil their spiteful foes:
Myself, maim'd, slew and mangled more I ween,
When I was hurt, than twenty more of those.
I made the Roman hearts to take their hose:

In all the camp no Roman scarce I spy'd,
Durst half a combate 'gainst a Briton 'bide.

At length I met a nobleman, they call'd
Him Labienus, one of Cæsar's friends,
A tribune erst, had many Britons thrall'd:
Was one of Cæsar's legates, forth he sends.
Well met (quoth I) I mind to make thee mends,
For all thy friendship to our country crew:
And so with Cæsar's sword his friend I slew:

What need I name you every Briton here,
As first the King, the nobles all beside,
Full stout and worthy wights, in war that were,
As ever erst the stately Romans try'd;
We fought so long they durst no longer 'bide.
Proud Cæsar he, for all his brags and boast,
Flew back to ships, with half his scatter'd host.

If he had been a God, as Sots him nam'd,
He could not of us Britons taken foil;
The monarch Cæsar might have been asham'd,
From such an island, with his ships recoil,
Or else to fly, and leave behind the spoil:
But life is sweet, he thought it better fly,
Than hide amongst us Britons, for to die.

I had his sword, was named Croceamors,
With which he gave me in the head a stroke,
The venom of the which had such a force,
It able was to pierce the heart of oak;
No med'cines might the poison out revoke:
Wherefore, though scarce he pierced had the skin,
In fifteen days my brains it rankled in.

And then too soon (alas! therefore) I dy'd;
I would to God he had return'd again,
So that I might but once the dastard spy'd:
Before he went, I had the serpent slain.
He play'd the coward cut-throat all too plain:
A beastly serpent's heart that beast detects,
Which, e're he fight, his sword with bane infects.

Well then, my death brought Cæsar no renown,
For both I got, thereby, eternal fame,
And eke his sword, to strike his friends adown;
I slew therewith his Labiene by name:
With prince against my country's foes I came,
Was wounded, yet did never faint, nor yield,
Till Cæsar with his soldiers fled the field.

Who would not venture life in such a case?
Who would not fight at countries whole request?
Who would not, meeting Cæsar in the place,
Fight for life, prince, and country with the best?
The greatest courage is by facts express'd:
Then for thy prince with fortitude, as I,
And realm's behoof, is praise to live or die.

Now write my life, when thou hast leisure, and
Will all thy countrymen to learn by me,
Both for their prince, and for their native land,
As valiant, bold, and fearless for to be.
A pattern plain of fortitude they see:
To which directly if themselves they frame,
They shall preserve their country, faith, and fame.

THE

NINE * WORTHIES OF LONDON:

Explaining the honourable Exercise of Armes, the Vertues of the Valiant, and the memorable Attempts of magnanimous Minds; pleasant for Gentlemen, not vnseemely for Magistrates, and most profitable for Prentises. Compiled by Richard Iohnson.

Imprinted at London, by Thomas Orwin, for Humfrey Lownes, and are to be sold at his Shop at the West Doore of Paules. 1592. In Black Letter. Quarto, containing forty-eight Pages.

To the Right Honourable Sir William Webbe, Knight, Lord Maior of the famous Citie of London, Richard Iohnson wisheth health, with increase of honour.

BEING not altogether (Right Honorable) vnacquainted with the fame of this wel gouerned citie, the heade of our English florishing common wealth, I thought nothing, considering it somewhat touched my dutie, could be more acceptable to your honour, then such principles as first grounded the same, as well by domesticall policie of peace, as forraine excellence in resolution of warre. This caused me to collect, from our London gardens, such especiall flowers, that

* Vide the 270th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets.

sauoured as well in the wrath of winter, as in the pride of sommer, keeping one equiuolence at all kinde of seasons: Flowers of chiualrie, Right Honorable, I meane, some that haue sucked honie from the bee, sweetnesse from warre, and were possessed in that high place of prudence, wherof your lordship now partaketh. Other some that haue beene more inferiour members, and yet haue giuen especial ayde to the head, beene buckler to the best, and therby reached to the aspiring toppe of armes: If your lordship shall but like of it, proceeding from the barren braine of a poore apprentice, that dare not promise moulhils, much lesse mountaines, I shall thinke this by-exercise, which I vndertooke to expell idlenesse, a worke of worth, whosoeuer the gentle cauld kind, that are vrgently inkindled, shall with ostentation inueigh. These, Right Honorable, the *Nine Worthies of London*, now vnable to defend themselues, seeke their protection vnder your gracious fauour; and the authour pricked on by fame to be patronaged for his willing labour; whereof not misdoubting, I humbly commit your honour to the defence of heauen, and the guider of all iust equalitie.

Your Lordships, in all humble dutie to be commaunded,

RICHARD IOHNSON.

To the Gentlemen Readers, as well Prenticcs as others.

ALL is not gold, Gentlemen, that glisters, nor all drosse that makes but a darke shew; so should copper some time be currant, and pearles of no price. Æsope, for all his crutchback, had a quick wit. Cleanthes, though in the night he caried the watertankard, yet in the day would dispute with philosophers. A meane man may look vpon a King, and a wren build her nest by an egle. In the games of Olympus any man might trie his strength; and, when Apelles liued, others were not forbid to paint. So, Gentlemen, though now a dayes many great poets flourish, from whose eloquent workes you take both pleasure and profite: yet, I trust, inferiours, whose pens dare not comparewith Apollos, shall not be contemned, or put to silence. Euery weede hath his vertue, and studious trauaile, though without skill, may manifest good will. Vouchsafe then intertainment to this new come guest; his simple truth shewes he is without deceyte, and his plaine speech proues he flatters not. He can not boast of art, nor claime the priuiledge of scholasticall cunning; what he sayth is not curious, being without any great præmeditation, or practise, more then his necessarie affaires would permit. If his vnpolished discourses may merit the least motion of your good liking, let the enuious fret, and the captious malice melt themselues. Neither the obiection of mechanicall, by such as are themselues diabolicall, whose vicious basenesse in a selfe conceyte, presuming aboue the best, is in deede but the dregges and refuse of the worst, nor the reproch of prouerbiall

scoffes (as, 'Ne suter ultra crepidam') shall discorage me from proceeding to inuent how further to content you. And so, trusting to my fortune, and ending in my hap, neither dispairing of your censures, nor fearing what the maleuolent can inflict.

Yours to commaund, as he may,

RICHARD IOHNSON.

A Catalogue, or briefe Table, declaring the Names of these worthie Men, and when they liued.

First, Sir William Walworth, fishmonger, in the time of Richard the Second.

Second, Sir Henrie Pitchard, vintener, in the time of Edward the Third.

Third, Sir William Seuenoake, grocer, in the time of Henrie the Fift.

Fourth, Sir Thomas White, marchant tailer, in the time of Queene Marie.

Fift, Sir Iohn Bonham, mercer, in the time of Edward the First.

Sixt, Sir Christopher Croker, vintener, in the time of Edward the Third.

Seuenth, Sir Iohn Haukwood, marchant-tailer, in the time of Edward the Third.

Eight, Sir Hugh Cauerley, silke-weauer, in the time of Edward the Third.

Ninth, Sir Henrie Maleueret, grocer, in the time of Henrie the Fourth.

WHAT time Fame began to feather her selfe to flie, and was winged with the lasting memorie of martiall men, the oratours ceast perswasive orations, the poets neglected the pleasures of their poems, and Pallas her self would haue nothing painted vpon her shield but mottoes of Mars, and short emblemes in honour of noble atchiuements. Then the ashes of auncient victors, without scruple or disdaine, had sepulture in rich and golden monuments; and they, that reacht the height of honour by worthie deedes, had their former basenesse shadowed by deserts. Fame, then fearing that her honour would faint, and her armour rust (for, though she fauoured all professions, yet she chiefly dignified armes) on a sodaine, mounted into the ayre, and neuer stayed the swiftnesse of her flying course, vntill she pitched her feete upon Parnassus forked toppe, whose springing lawrels gaue shade and shelter to her wearinesse. This was the fruitfull place where she plotted her flowrie garlands, to crown the temples of vertuous followers, and wreathes of renowne to illustrate vndaunted courages. Here, likewise,

remained her chiefe secretaries, the ix. Muses, as in a seate of most pleasure best befitting their diuine perfections, whose necessarie aydes she alwayes craued, when occasion ministred any thing worthy record; and, though the wholesome freshnesse of the ayre, the greeneness of the valleys, the comfortable odours of sundry sorts of flowers, the pride and bewtie of the trees, the harmonious layes of nightingales and other birds, the variable delights of artificiall bowers, and the musicall murmures of christall running fountains, might wel have inchaunted the roughest cynick, or crabbest malecontent, to cheare vp his spirits, and banish melancholy passions; yet this goddesse, pretending businesse of importance, had such a care to effect it, as that she would not be ouercome with pleasure, nor yeeld to ease (though, in reason, her laborious trauell did require rest) but painfully passing vp and downe, was not moued with the one, nor maistred with the other. At last, as her busie eye pried euery way, she espied a path of violets, whose tops were pressed downe with the steps of such as had lately passed that way; by this, she coniectured the nymphes were not farre off, and, therefore, following the tract their feete had made vpon the flowers, she was quickly brought to the head of Hellicon, where, in an arbour of eglantine, and damaske rose-trees, one twisted so cunningly within another, as hard it was to iudge, whether nature or arte had bestowed most to the bewtifying of that bower. She found the Muses euery one seriously applying their seuerall exercises, whom, when they saw (hauing saluted her with a dutifull reuerence) stoode attentiue (being well assured her comming was not without cause) what charge shee would giue, or what shee would commaund to be registred. To whome Fame, to the intent they might not long bee in suspence about her sodaine approch, as well, for that her businesse was impatient of delay, as to resolue their earnest expectation, spake in this manner:

You need not muse, gracious nurces of learning, at my presence in this place, because I vse not oftentimes to visit you, nor trouble your minds with ambiguous imaginations concerning my purpose, since I seldome craue your furtherance but for memorable accidents; notwithstanding, for the varietie of matter requires not alwayes one ferme, and still, with process of time, as mens maners change, our method alters, you shall perceyue I am not now to begin, but to reuiue what ignorance in darknes seemes to shadow, and hatefull obliuion hath almost rubbed out of the booke of honour. It is not of Kinges and mightie potentates, but such whose vertues made them great, and whose renowme sprung not of the noblenes of their birth, but of the notable towardnesse of their well qualified mindes, aduaunced not with lofty titles, but praysed for the triall of their heroycal truthes. Of these must you indite, who, though their states were but meane, yet deoth their worthy prowesse match superiours, and therefore haue I named them Worthies. Nine were they in number, their countrie England, the citie they liued in famous London, famous in deede for such men, and yet forgetful to celebrate the remembrance of their names, and negligent, I may say, in performing the like attempts, hauing, for imitation, such goodly presidents as these to supplie them that want, with wisdome, and with

better instruction. I am determined to discourse againe what I haue often bruted, thereby to stirre vp sluggards, and to giue secure worldlings to vnderstande (who extend no further then for wealth, and whose hearts suppose a heape of coine the greatest happines) that the censure of honour ought to increase, when as, by substance, they arise to authoritie, and none so abiect but may be made a subiect of glorie and magnanimitie, if so thereunto they will bend their endeuours.

For performance hereof, I know my theame so large and copious, as all your wits might, in generall, be imployed to dilate and expresse the same, yet only Clio shall be sufficient, whome alone I make choise off, the rather, because it chiefly concernes hir. And, so beckning towards her with her head, made an end of her speach.

She had no sooner sayd, but all the rest, as satisfied in that they desired to know, presently cast down their lookes, that were before stedfastly fixed vpon the browes of Fame, and began to turne to their labours, which, all this while, by reason of her talke, they had intermitted; onely Clio, clasping vp her booke of famous hystories, and, taking her golden pen in hand, rose from the seate where she sate, and, leauing her sisters with due reuerence, was readie to folow Fame where so euer she would conduct her.

At the doore of the enterance into the arbour, there stoode a silver chariout drawne by the force of Pegasus, which Fame, of purpose, had prouided, because Clio therein might the better keepe wing with her. Into the which she was no sooner mounted, but straightway, as swift as the burning dartes of Iupiter, they made their passage through the subtle ayr, vntill they soared over the hollow vault, through which the way leadeth down to the rule of vnder earth; there Clio pulled her rayne, and, with a headlong fall, according to her guides direction, neuer staid vntill the steely houes of Pegasus did beate against the gates of Tartara, where, being receyved in, they left the crooked thornie way smoking with sulpher, and neuer ceasing contagious vapours, and kept directly on the other side, which delighted their eyes with so many glorious sights, that, before they knew it, they were arriued vnder the Elesian shades; where, when the goddes had remained a while, discoursing with her companion the seuerall habitations, as that of louers in sweete groues of muske she spide, at last, the place where Electrum growes, sweetned continually with burning baulme boughes, with which braue souldiours, and warlike cauilliers, cured their ranck scarres. There did she shake her bright immortall wings, and with the melodious noyse, and with the sweet breath was fanned from those phœnix feathers, she awaked nine comely knights, that, arme in arme, vpon a greene banke, strewed with rose buddes, had laid their conquering heads to rest in peace.

This, quoth she, is the farthest end of our iourney! here must we take our stations for a while, and those whom thou seest elevating their bodies from the ground, from whose browes sparkle gleames of immortall glorie, are the nine worthy champions I told you of, whom, as by my power, I haue awaked; so will I cause to speake and declare their owne fortunes, onely be thou attentiue, and set down with thy pen what thou shalt heare them speake; and so comming to the first, which

was a tall aged man, his haire as white as snow, vpon his backe a scarlet robe, his temples bound about with baulme, and, in his hand, a bright shining blade: She toucht his lippes with her finger, and straightway his tongue began to vtter these words:

Sir William Wallworth, Fishmonger, sometime Maior of London.

WHAT I shall speake, suppose it is not vaine,
Nor think ambition tunes my sounding voyce,
It bootes not clay, to stand on glorious gaine;
An other place bereaues vs of that choyce:
For when the pompe of earthlie pleasures gon,
Our goasts lie buried vnderneath a stone.

Nor, when I liu'd, carpt I at Phœbus light,
My deedes did passe, without comparing pride;
Who shone the least (mee thought apear'd more bright)
I wisht it secret, what the world discride,
Nor would now shewe (fayre goddesse but for thee)
The charge beseemes an other, and not mee.

To ouerpasse then, how I was instaul'd,
To weare the purple robe of maiestrate,
It shall suffice I su'de not, but was calde;
Of Fortunes gifts, let baser minds relate:
In such a time, it was my chaunce to sway,
When riches quaild, and vertue wonne the day.

In Richards raygne, the Second of that name,
Of Londons weale, liefetenant to his grace,
Wallworth was chose vnworthie of the same,
Within his hand to beare the cities mace:
To fishmongers, the honour did redownd,
Whose brotherhood was my preferments grownd.

These were not dayes of peace, but broyling warre,
Dissention spred her venom through the land,
And stird the prince and subiect to a iarre;
Hated loue, rigor, dutie did withstand:
In such a tempest of vnbridled force,
As manie lost their liues, without remorse.

For by a taxe, the King requirde to haue,
The men of Kent and Essex did rebell;
Their first decree concluded none to saue.
But hauocke all, a heauie tale to tell:
And so, when they were gatherde to a head,
Towards London, were these gracelesse rebells ledd.

What spoyle they made in countries as they came,
How they did rob, and tyrranize in pride,
The widowes cries were patterns of their shame,
And sanguin streames of infants blood beside:
For like the sea, when it hath caught a breach,
So rusht these traytors, past compassions reach.

So desperate was their rage, as they preuailde,
And entered the citie by the sword;
The Towre wals were mightely assayld,
And prisoner, there, made headlesse at a word:
Earles manner houses were by them destroyd,
The Sauoy, and S. Iones, by Smithfeeld spoyld.

All men of law, that fell into their hands,
They left them breathlesse weltering in their blood;
Ancient records were turn'd to firebrands,
Anie had fauour, sooner then the good:
So stout these cutthrotes were in their degree,
That noblemen must serue them on their knee.

In burning and in slaughter long they toyld,
That made the King and all his traine agast;
Such rancour had their stomackes ouerboyld,
They hopte to get the soueraignitie at last:
In deede his Maiestie was young in yeares,
Which brought distresse to him, and to his peeres.

Yet with a loyal guard of bils and bowes,
Collected of our tallest men of trade,
I did protect his person from his foes,
Where there presumption trembled to inuade:
It yerkt my soule, to see my prince abusde,
In whose defence, no danger I refusde.

In these extreames it was no boote to fight,
The rebells marched with so huge an host;
The King crau'd parley, by a noble knight,
Of sterne Wat Tyler, ruler of the rost:
A countrie boore, a goodlie proper swayne,
To put his countrie to such wretched payne.

This rustick scoft, at first, the Kings request,
Yet, at the last, he seem'd to giue consent;
Aleaging he would come when he thought best:
T'is well (quoth he) is all their courage spent:
Ile make them on their bended knees intreat,
Or cast their bodies in a bloodie sweat.

Begirt with steele, our gownes were laid apart,
Age hindered not, though feeble were my joynts;
T'would make a fearfull coward take a heart,
When prince opprest a countries cause appoynts:
Who would refuse, and death, or grieuous paine,
To follow him that is his soueraygne.

The place appoynted where to meete these mates
(That like audatious pessants did prepare,
As if their calling did concerne high states,
With brasen lookes, deuoyd of awfull care)
Was Smithfeeld, where his Maiesty did stay,
An howre ere these rebels found the way.

At last the leaders of that brutish rowt,
Jacke Strawe, Wat Tiler, and a number more,
Aproacht the place, with such a yelling showt,
As seldome had the like been heard before:
The King spake faire, and bad them lay downe armes,
And he would pardon all their former harmes.

But as fierce lions are not tam'd with words,
Nor sauage monsters conquered but by force;
So gentlenesse vnshethes a traitors sword,
And fayre perswasions makes the wicked worse;
His clemencie prouoakt, and not dismaide,
Because of them they thought the King affraide.

And, as a witnesse of their inward vice,
Their tongues beganne to taunt in sawsie sort;
Obedience blusht, and honour lost her price,
A modest shame forbids the fowle report:
How presumption made these caitifes swell,
As if the diuels did bellow foorth of hell.

Their loathsome talkes inkindle angers fire,
And fretting passions made my sinewes shake,
T'was death to me to see the base aspire,
Such woundes would men in deadlie slumber wake.
Yet I refrainde, my betters were in place,
It were no maners nobles to disgrace.

But, when I saw the rebells pride encrease,
And none controll and counterchecke their rage;
T'were seruice good (thought I) to purchase peace,
And malice of contentious brags asswage:
With this conceyt, all feare had taken flight,
And I alone prest to the traitors sight.

Their multitude could not amaze my minde,
Their bloudie weapons did not make me shrinke;
True valour hath his constancie assignde,
The eagle at the sunne will never winke:
Amongst their troupes, incenst with mortall hate,
I did arest Wat Tiler on the pate.

The stroke was giuen with so good a will,
It made the rebell coutch vnto the earth;
His fellowes that beheld (t'is strange) were still,
It mard the maner of their former mirth:
I left him not, but, ere I did depart,
I stabd my dagger to his damned heart.

The rest, perceiving of their captaine slaine,
Soone terrified did cast their weapons downe;
And like to sheepe began to flie amaine,
They durst not looke on iustice dreadfull frowne:
The king pursude, and we were not the last,
Till furie of the fight were ouerpast.

Thus were the mangled parts of peace recurde,
The princes falling state by right defended;
From common weale all mischiefe quite abiurde,
With loue and dutie vertue was attended:
And for that deede, that day before t'was night,
My king in guerdon dubbed me a knight.

Nor ceast he so to honour that degree,
A costly hat his highnesse likewise gaue,
That Londons maintenance might euer be;
A sword also he did ordaine to haue,
That should be caried still before the maior,
Whose worth deserude succession to that chaire.

This much in age when strength of youth was spent,
Hath Wallworth by vnwonted valour gaind;
T'was all he sought, his countrey to content,
Successe hath fortune for the iust ordaind:
And, when he died, this order he began,
Lord Maiors are knights, their office being done.

Worthily had this father of his countrey the formost place in this discourse, whose valerous attempts may be a light to all ensuing ages, to lead them in the darkenesse of all troublesome times, to the resurrection of such a constant affection, as will not faulter or refuse any perill to profite his countrey, and purchase honour. Such was his desert, as euen then when good men dispaired of their safetie, and the verie pillars of the common wealth tottered, his courage redeemed the one, and vnderpropped the other: martialists and patrones of magna-

amitie trembled at that, which he beyond all expectation aduentured. Let enuie, therefore, retract the malice of her blistring tongue, which heretofore (and now not a litle) striueth, by her contentions and ripening nature, to obscure the brightnesse of their praise, and scoffe at their ingenious dispositions, whose education promiseth small: But yet, when occasion hath required, haue performed more then they whose brags haue vapord to the clouds. I wish the like mincle, and the like loyaltie, in all those that make the citie the nurse of their liues, and subiect of their fortunes, that London may continue stil that credite, to be called, the 'great chamber of her kings,' and 'the key of her countreys blisse.' But to proceede, Fame hauing marked the grauitie, eloquence, and orator-like gesture of this good knight, during the continuance of his talke, was so well pleased as she vowed to erect his statue, where, in spight of all contrarious and maleuolent blasts of vertues carpers, it should stande immoueable; and Clio, that had pend his speach, grieued she had not leysure (as she desired, and he deserued) to set down his actions in better and more ample manner: For alreadie another of the knightly crew stood vp readie to delate what Fame expected; therefore, she was forced to let it somewhat rawly passe, hoping that the excellency of the matter would excuse the rudenesse of the rime.

The next, being a man whom nature had likewise bewtified with the colour and badge of wisedome and authoritie, as one on whom a greater power then fortunes faigned deitie had bestowed the fulnesse of worldly treasure and heavens perfection, beganne accordingly to frame his tale:

Sir Henrie Pitchard, Knight.

THE potter tempers not the massie golde,
A meaner substance serues his simple trade;
His workemanship consistes of slimie molde,
Where any plaine impression soone is made:
His pitchards haue no outward glittering pompe,
As other mettels of a finer stampe.

Yet for your vse as wholsome as the rest,
Though their beginning be but homely found;
And sometime they are taken for the best,
If that be precious that is alwayes sound;
From gould corrupting poysons do infect,
Where earthen cups are free from all suspect.

So censure of the Pitchard you behould,
Whose glorie springes not of his lowlie frame;
Though he be clay, he may compare with gould,
His properties nere felt reproachfull shame:
For, when I first drew breath vpon the earth,
My mind did beawtifie creations byrth.

I dare not sing of Mars his bloodie scarres,
It is a stile too high for my conceipt;
Yet in my youth I serued in the warres,
And followde him that made his foes entreat:
Edward the Third, the phœnix of his time,
For life and prowes spotted with no crime.

From France returnd, so well I thriu'd at home,
As by permission of celestiall grace;
I rose by that, men termd blind fortunes dome,
To such a loftie dignitie of place:
As by election then it did appeare,
I was Lord Maior of London for a yeare.

I vsde not my promotion with disdaine,
Nor suffred heapes of coyne to fret with rust;
I knewe the ende of such a noble gaine,
And saw that riches were not giuen for lust:
But for reliefe and comfort of the poore,
Against the straunger not to shut my doore.

I could repeate perhaps some liberall deedes,
But that I feare vaine-glories bitter checke;
His plenties want, his haruest is but weedes,
That doth in wordes his proper goodnesse decke:
It shall suffice, he hath them in recorde,
That keepes in store his stewards just reward.

Yet, for aduancement of faire Londons fame,
I will omit one principall regarde;
That such as heare may imitate the same,
When auarice by bountie shall be barde:
Rich men should thinke of honour more then pelfe,
I liu'd as well for others as my selfe.

When Edward triumpht for his victories,
And helde three crownes within his conquering hand,
He brought rich trophies from his enemies,
That were erected in this happie land:
We all reioyc'd, and gaue our God the praise,
That was the authour of those fortunate dayes.

And as from Douer, with the prince his sonne,
The king of Cypres, France, and Scots did passe,
All captive prisoners to this mightie one,
Fiue thousand men, and I the leader was:
All well preparde, as to defend a fort,
Went foorth to welcome him in martiall sort.

The riches of our armour, and the cost,
Each one bestowd in honour of that day,
Were here to be exprest but labour lost,
Silke coates and chaines of golde bare little sway:
And thus we marcht accepted of our king,
To whom our comming seemd a gracious thing.

But, when the citie pearde within our sights,
I crau'd a boune submisse vpon my knee:
To haue his grace, those kings, with earles and knights,
A day or two to banquet it with me:
The king admirde, yet thankefully replide,
Vnto thy house both I and these will ride.

Glad was I that so I did preuaile,
My heart reuiud, my parts, me thought, were young;
For cheare and sumptuous cost no coine did faile,
And he that talkt of sparing did me wrong:
Thus, at my proper charge, I did retaine
Foure kings, one prince, and all their royall traine.

Yet, lo, this pompe did vanish in an houre,
There is no trusting to a broken staffe;
Mans carefull life doth wither like a flower,
The destenies do stroy what we do graffe:
For all his might, my gold wherewith I pleasde,
Death took vs both, and would not be appeasde.

Of all there now remaines no more but this,
What vertue got by toyling labours paine,
To shrine our spotlesse soules in heauenlie blisse,
Till to our bodies they returne againe:
What else we find is vaine and worthlesse drosse,
And greatest getting but the greatest losse.

After that Clio had writ what this famous knight had tolde, she no little wondred at his modest audacitie. Therefore, she sayde this to Fame: Renowned goddesse, enemie to the fatall sisters, and onely friend to the good deseruers; it were beseeming thy excellencie to proceede altogither with the honourable acts of these memorable men, and onely touch their vertuous endeuours; whereunto the goddesse condiscended: And, seeing another lift vp his head, as if he were desirous to speake, Fame heartned him on with smiling countenance to say as followeth:

Sir William Seauenoake.

MY harmelesse byrth misfortunequite contemd,
And, from my pappe, did make my youth a pray;
So scarcely budd, my branches were vnstemd,
My byrth howre was deathes black and gloomie day:
Had not the highest stretched forth his might,
The breake of day had beene the darkest night.

Some monster that did enuie natures worke
(When I was borne in Kent) did cast me foorth
In desert wildes, where, though no beast did lurke
To spoyle that life, the heavens made for woorth:
Vnder seauen oakes yet mischiefe flung me downe,
Where I was found and brought vnto a towne.

Behold an ebbe that neuer thought to flowe,
Behold a fall unlikelie to recouer:
Behold a shrub, a weed, that grew full lowe,
Behold a wren that neuer thought to houer:
Behold yet how the highest can commaund,
And make a sand foundation firmelie stand.

For when my infants time induste more yeares,
After some education in the schoole,
And some discretion in my selfe appeares,
With labor to be taught with manuall toole:
To learne to live, to London thus being found,
Apprentise to a groser I was bound.

To please the honest care my master tooke,
I did refuse no toyle nor drudging payne;
My hands no labor euer yet forsooke,
Whereby I might encrease my masters gayne:
Thus Seauenoake liud, for so they calde my name,
Till heauen did place mee in a better frame.

In time my prentise yeares were quite expirde,
And then Bellona, in my homelie brest,
My countries honour with her flames had firde,
And for a souldior made my fortune prest.
Henry the Fift my king did warre with France,
Then I with him his right to readvance.

Then did couragious men with loue compare,
And striue, by armes, to get their prince renowne;
There sillie I like thirsty soule did fare,
To drink their fill would venter for to drowne:
Then did the height of my inhaunst desire
Graunt me a little leasure to aspire,

The Dolphyne then of France, a comelie knight,
Disguised, came by chaunce into a place,
Where I, well wearied with the heate of fight,
Had layd me downe, for warre had ceast his chace,
And, with reproachfull words, as layzie swaine,
He did salute me ere I long had layne.

I, knowing that he was mine enemie,
A bragging French-man, for we tearmd them so,
Ill brookt the proud disgrace he gaue to me,
And, therefore, lent the Dolphyne such a blowe,
As warmd his courage well to lay about,
Till he was breathlesse, though he were so stout.

At last the noble prince did aske my name,
My birth, my calling, and my fortunes past,
With admiration he did heare the same,
And so a bagge of crownes to me he cast;
And, when he went away, he saide to mee,
Seauenoake be prowd the Dolphyne fought with thee.

When English had obtainde the victorie,
We crossed backe the grudging seas againe,
Where all my friends supposed warre to be,
For vice and follie, virtues onelie bane:
But see the simple how they are deceaude,
To iudge that honour, honour hath bereaud.

For, when my souldiors fame was laid aside,
To be a groser once againe I framde;
And he which rules above my steps did guide,
That through his wealth Seauenoake in time was famde.
To be Lord Maior of London by degree,
Where iustice made me sway with equitie.

Gray haires made period vnto honours call,
And frostie death had furrowed in my face
Colde winter gashes, and to sommers fall,
And fainting nature left my mortall place;
For with the date of flesh my life decayde,
And Seauenoake dide; for every flower must fade.

By testament in Kent I built a towne,
And briefly calde it Seauenoake, from my name;
A free schoole to sweete learning, to renowne,
I placde for those that playde at honours game;
Both land and liuing to that towne I gaue,
Before I tooke possession of my graue.

Thither I bare my flesh, but leaue my fame,
To be a president for London wights;
And you, that now behold fair vertues maime,
Thinke he is happie for his countrey fights:
For, for my guerdon to this pleasant field,
My carkas did my dying spirit yeeld.

By that time this famous man had thus innobled his name by telling his nature, the pitifull and louely muse had delated at large his eternall honour, hauing, in no part, beene nigardly of his prodigall prayse: But, Fame dismissing him to his former rest, hard by a still siluer streame that beate warbling ecchoes into the vaultie bankes, whereas deceassed sea-nymphes vse to sport, pressing his manlike paulme vpon the ground, he bent his comelie bodie to the earth; where, not as possessed with heauinesse, but with paridice-like ioy, he safely and sweetely reposed his comely limbes; like as the woonted martialists of former memorie were accustomed to doe, when, returning from hot encountred broyles, they vnbuckled their steeld enclosures to enioy the fresh and delightsome breath of peace. There are they, that woonted to be of Pans musical parliament, fayre forresters and carrolling sheeppeards, delighted; and, almost inchaunted with this champions storie, thought to present him with some short recreation; therefore, vpon a bush of juniper brambles, where Philomelie had set her speckled breast, they all at once did beate with siluer wings; then from this sweete sauouring thicket rowsed the tripping deare, and after them the nimble footed fawne, wrestling together, once ouertaken with pleasing and delectable sport, rubbing their horned browes vpon their sweete twined bowers; this did they do in fauour of his birth, being committed to their gouernments, before his mothers milke had made him blithe.

This pastime put the famous Seauenoake in minde of his beginning, how nature first had inniciated her worke in miserie, and ended it in miracles, not arguing herein her vnconstant kinde, but her prouident foresight to withstand the mischiefe of all misfortunes; and, whilest Fame, with her admiring muse, was busied in posing the rest, this meritorious man did please himselfe with this poem:

Where fortune had her birth the sunne sate downe,
Yet gaue no liuing glorie to the childe;
She grew, and gaue the god a golden crowne,
It pleased him not, for he was euer milde;
Yet drew she disposition from his throne,
That, without her, no wight can moue alone.

Then he betook him to his former meditation, from whom he was first awaked; when another knight of that aduaunced crew was by Fame assigned to speake, called, Sir Thomas White, the goddesse cleaped him, who lifting vp his aged limmes, yet not decayed, sayd as followeth:

Sir Thomas White.

WHITE is my name, and milke white are my haires,
White were my deedes, though vaine is proper praise,
White for my countrey were my kind affayres,
White was the rule, that measurd all my dayes:
Yet blacke the mould, that coutcht me in my graue,
By which more pure my present state I haue.

I cannot sing of armes, and blood-red warres,
Nor was my colour mixt with Mars his hew;
I honour those that ended countrey iarres,
For therein subiects shew, that they are trew:
But priuately at home I shewde my selfe,
To be no louer of vaine worldly pelfe.

My deedes haue tongues to speake, though I surceasc,
My orators the learned striue to bee,
Because, I twined paulmes in time of peace,
And gaue such gifts, that made faire learning free:
My care did build them bowers of sweet content,
Where many wise their golden time haue spent.

A-noyse of gratefull thankes within mine eares,
Descending from their studies (glads my heart)
That I began to wish with priuate teares,
There liued more that were of Whites desert:
But now I looke, and spie that time is balde,
And vertue comes not, being seldome calde.

But sith I am awaked not to waile,
But to vnfolde to Fame my former life;
I must on forward with my single tale,
For sorrow will but breake the heart with strife:
White is no warriour (as I sayd before)
Nor entred euer into daungers doore.

The English cities, and incorporate townes,
Doe bear me witnesse of my countreys care;
Where yearely I doe feede the poore with crownes,
For I was neuer niggard yet to spare:
And all chief burrowes of this blessed land
Haue somewhat tasted of my liberall hand.

He, that did lend to me the grace of wealth,
Did not bestow it for to choake with store;
But to maintaine the needie poore in health,
By which expence my wealth encreased more:
The oyle of gladnesse euer chear'd my hart,
Why should I not then pitie others smart?

Lord Maior of London I was calde to bee,
And iustice ballance bare with vpright hand;
I iudg'd all causes right in each degree,
I never partiall in the law did stand:
But, as my name was White, so did I striue
To make my deedes, whilest yet I was aliue.

But my prefixed fate had twinde my thread,
And White it was, and therefore best she likt it;
She set her web, within a loome of lead,
And with her baulme of grace she sweetely dight it.
And with consent her sisters gaue this grace,
That White should keepe his colour in this place.

When this aged knight had peaceably (obseruing decorum with his passed state) tolde his plaine and vnpolished tale, in all points like himselfe, clothed with the fashion of his minde, vpon a bed of lillies hee layde him downe, whose colour, answerable to his snowie beard, made them take especiall delight in the simpathie of their qualitie. Then sayde Clio, thou faire and swift foote goddesse, winged with the doue, and eyed with the eagle, let me bee boldned (with thy fauour) to demaunde one question, Which of all this noble companie shall next dilate his life? Sweete muse (quoth Fame) this knight, pointing to Sir Iohn Bonham, sometimes apprentice to a marchant in London. Your deitie, sayde Clio, then (vnder correction) will mistake the placing. For this gallant liued in England, in the time of Edward the First, and we are alreadie come downe, so farre as queene Marie. Therein, sayde Fame, wee doe preferre their age, and the honour of their calling, before the obseruation of time, which derogates from no other course, then that which sometimes our poets haue vsed, placing euer the worthiest formost, as to induce the rest by example, not to be starke for want of courage. Therfore, it shall not be vncomly or preposterous, when the yonger knights shall speake after those that bare the honour of the maioraltie.

This excuse wel contented the labouring muse, who, framing her golden pen in her fingers, fixed it ready to her memoriall leaues, whilest Fame did rouse this worthie from his rest: A man of stature meane, in countenance milde, in speach man-like, and in performance couragious; his beard Abron, and his bodie bigge; and thus he began, when Fame had giuen him caueat to speake.

Sir Iohn Bonham, Knight.

LET them that pull their quils from griffons wings,
And dippe them in the bloud of Pagans bane,
Let them describe me from the brest that sings,
A poem of bloudie showers of raigne:

And in my tale, a mournefull eleagie,
To such as do the lawes of God denie.

A gentleman I am of gentle blood,
A knight my father was, yet thought no scorne
To place his sonne within a prentise hood,
For nature will appeare as she was borne:
A Deuonshire man, to London loe I came,
To learne to traffique of a marchant man.

Shortelie from thence to Denmarke was I bound,
Well shipt with ware, my master gaue in charge;
I deemd the water better then the ground,
And on the seas a man might see at large:
Me thought that fortune there might flie her fill,
And pitch and light vpon what place she will.

Ariud at last, in Denmarke was I sett,
Where Bonham did demeane himselfe so well;
That, though some strangers there had pitcht a nett
To catch my feete, themselues therein soone fell:
And such dishonour dropt vpon their head,
As they their native countrie quicklie fled.

My worthlesse fame vnto the king was brought,
Who shewd himselfe both mild and debonare;
A cause of gracious kindnes still he sought,
And for my countrey did commend my care:
And though I say it, that might better cease,
Bonham did purchase fame, and loues encrease.

A vertuous ladie, and a curteous prince,
This famous king vnto his daughter had,
Hir countenance did the baser sort conuince,
Yet did she bare her gently, not to bad:
Such was her beautie, such was her grace and fauour,
That watchful enuy no way could depraue her.

Excepting still the praise of Procerpine,
I may a little glance vpon her grace,
The words she spake did euer seeme diuine,
And nature chose her alters in her face:
Where in the day her golden flames do burne,
And they that gaze shall frie, except they turne.

There bodies once consum'd, loue tooke their soules,
And there satte binding them within her haire;
She neede not frowne, her smoothest lookes controles,
See how she slayes, yet dooth the guiltlesse spare:
Guiltlesse they are that dare not stay so long,
To heare the musick of inchaunting song.

Should I but speake the words vnto her face,
Perhaps, you would suppose I flatter her;
If so, I haue too long vpheld the chace,
And negligentlie spard the pricking spurre:
In whose sweete praise I end, not yet begunne,
Because my lame conceipt wants feete to runne.

Who will not iudge, the brauest Denmarke knights,
Will cracke their lances in her proud defence?
And now by this a troope of worthie wights,
Prepared iustes, her beawtie to incence:
And vnto me, vnworthie me, she gaue,
A fauour to adorne my courage braue.

I know your ielousie will iudge me nowe,
And say I prais'd her for her fauours sake,
Alas! he lookes not vp, is bound to bowe,
A ceader neuer springeth from a brake:
It pleasd her well, age not displeased mee,
Why then should envie still with honour bee.

They, that haue guiders, cannot chuse but runne,
Their mistresse eyes doe learne them chiualrie;
With those commaunds these turneys are begunne,
And shiuerd launces in the ayre do flie:
No more but this, there Bonham had the best,
Yet list I not to vaunt how I was blest.

Each knight had fauour bound to his desart,
And euerie ladie lent her loue a smile;
There boldly did I not my selfe insert,
Nor secret practise did my pride compile:
But of her selfe the gentle princesse gaue
Rewarde of honour vnto me her slaue.

In fine, my masters shippe with goods were fraught,
And I desirous to returne agayne,
For all the fauours, that my fortune wrought,
Vnto my masters businesse was no mayne:
But so occasion, trusty friend to time,
Prepard me steps, and made me way to clime.

Great Solimon, the Turkish emperor,
Made sodaine warres against the Danish king,
And most vnlike a noble emperour,
Did spoyle and ruine to his confines bring:
A thing vnlike, yet truth to witnesse call,
And you shall finde hee made mee generall.

A puissaunt armie then was leuied straight,
And skilfull pilats sent to guide my ship:
Imagin but a Christians deadly hate
Against the heathen that our blood doth sip;
Then thinke how Bonham, bent against the Turke,
Wrought wonders by the high Almighties worke.

Half of his armie, smouldred with the dust,
Lay slaughtred on the earth in gorie blood;
And he himselfe compeld to quell his lust,
By composition, for his peoples good:
Then, at a parlie, he admirde me so,
He made me knight, and let his armie go.

He gaue me costly robes and chaines of golde,
And, garded with his gallies, sent me backe;
For fame, unto the Danish king, had tolde
My gotten glorie, and the Turkish wracke;
He gaue me gifts, in guerdon of my fight,
And sent me into England like a knight.

How I was welcomd there, t'were vaine to tell;
For, shortly after, life had runne his race,
And hither was I summoned to dwell,
My other fellow worthies to embrace:
Thus gently borne, a marchant by my trade,
And in the field Bonham a knight was made.

Clio, with the straungenesse of this report, was wrapt so much into admiration (both in respect of his feature, fortune, and faire tongue) as she seemed cast into a traunce, neuer remouing her eyes from of his youthfull face, till Fame, perceyuing her deepe cogitations, put her foorth of her dumps, by asking her, why she pawsed so long? Her chast eyes (it appeared) hauing all this while seene no other, but such whose countenance resembled winters frosts, began now, with the chearefull heate of this flowring spring, to waxe warme with secrete working of some amorous passion to excuse with suspition; for it stoode with her credite not to bee faultie in any such idle toy. Shee answered, It was not the inticement of any misbeseeming phantasie, that allured her to that sodaine silence, but onelie a kind of conceyte shee fostered, howe it coulde be possible, that the Turke, being a man of nature barbarous and cruell, and especially towardes Christians, should nowe bee so much mollifyed, and brought from his wonted fiercenesse to fauour and honour one, whom by nature hee loathed and detested. For, what though Bonhams valour had gotten that aduantage, as, by reason and lawe of armes, he might inforce the Turke confesse, the safegarde of his life depended on his clemencie; yet, since the brutishnesse of that nature esteemeth of vertue but to serue their owne lust and profite, I see no argument of likelihoode, why the Turke, hauing his aduersarie in his court, that a little before had made him bowe, not

with gentle perswasions, but with downe-right strokes, should not rather bee incensed to cutte off his head, then doe him the least good in the world. So seuere is the regarde of honour, as, rather then it will be vpbrayded with disgrace (though that disgrace were cause of many incomparable pleasures) no hatefull, vnnaturall, or vngratefull practise shall be attempted, til the eyesore of their grudging heart be remoued; and princes, if they cannot beare words, much less will put vp wounds; and that was it, quoth she, that troubled my serious muse.

At these wordes Fame began to frowne; her patience was prouoked, that one so well instructed in the knowledge of such matters, as shee was (her whole studie consisting of nothing else, but of ciuill discipline) should make a doubt in so slender a contrarietie; yet, to cutte off further protraction of time, shee replyed her this resolution: That shee was sure shee could not be ignoraunt, howe that it was the affect of vertue, that wrought such an alteration in the Turke, which, as it is diuine, descended from the goddes, so it worketh beyonde the expectation of men. And, for proofe thereof, alreadie sundrie authorities were alledged; as, that of Dyonisius, whose murtherous minde coulde not but reuerence Plato, although hee continually inueighed bitterly agaynst his tyrannie; and that of Alexander, who loued Darius for his fortitude, although hee was his enemie. Therefore it ought not to seeme miraculous vnto her, when vsually such accidents as those followe vertues fauourites. But, quoth she, I rather thinke you were amazed to heare such rare exploits proceede from a prentice, and one of no more experience: But let not that seeme straunge; hee spake no more then truth, nor all that might be sayd concerning his hawghtie endeuours. The other foure, whom you see on his left hand, will, if you seeme incredulous, confirme a possibilitie in his speaches; they are of the like condition and qualitie as he was, prentices, that purchased estimation by the sworde. Clio blushed, that she had beene so inquisitiue; but, as it may be coniectured, it was not so much for her owne satisfaction, as to take away hereafter all controuersie, and needlesse cauillation, as might concurre by the curious view of such as shoulde fortune to haue the reading of her lines. By this, Sir Iohn Bonham had coucht himselfe againe in the bedde of his secure rest, when another gay knight, sterne in his lookes, and strong set in his limmes, carying in his browes the picture of Mars, and in his maners the maiestie of a prince with a lowe salutation, made himselfe knowne by this brefe oration:

Sir Christopher Croker, Knight, of London, Vintner.

IT is not birth that makes a man renownde,
Nor treasure store that purchaseth our fame;
Bigge words are but an emptie vessels sound,
And death is better than a life with shame,
This proueth Croker in his trauailes made,
Of London once a vintner by his trade.

In Gracious-streete, there was I bound to serue,
My masters name hight Stodie in his time,
From whom in dutie I did neuer swarue,
Nor was corrupted with detested crime:
My education taught me so to liue,
As by my paines my maisters purse might thriue.

My fellow-seruants lou'd me with their hearts;
My friends reioyc'd to see me prosper so,
And kind Doll Stodie (though for small deserts)
On me vouchsaft affection to bestow:
Whose constancie was such, that, for her sake,
No toyle was grieuous I did vndertake,

Such was my state, as I my selfe could wish,
Deuoid of care, not toucht with egre want,
My sleepe secure, my foode choise bewties dish;
Onely in this my pleasure seemed scant,
That I vnable was her state to raise,
That was the lengthner of my happie days.

Whilst thus I was perplexed with that thought,
Behold how Fortune fauourde my desire,
Of sodaine warres the ioyfull newes was brought,
And Edward ayde of souldiors did require;
Amongst the rest it fell vnto my chaunce,
That I was prest to follow him to Fraunce.

My maister would haue sewd for my discharge,
His daughter with her teares gan me assaile,
On euery side they prayd and promist large,
Bnt nothing could in that respect preuaile:
Such thirst of honour spurd my courage on,
I would to warres, although I went alone.

My forwardnesse perceyu'd, my valour knowne,
Ouer a band of souldiors I was chiefe;
Then sproute the seedes that were but lately sowne,
My longing soule had quickly found reliefe:
I sparde no cost, nor shrunke for any paine,
Because I ment my loue should reape the gaine.

To proue my faith vnto my countries stay,
And that a prentice (though but small esteemd)
Vnto the stoutest never giueth way,
If credit may by trial be redeemd:
At Burdeaux siege, when other came too late,
I was the first made entrance through the gate.

And when Don Peter, driuen out of Spaine,
By an usurping bastard of his line,
He crau'd some helpe, his crowne to reobtaine,
That in his former glorie he might shine:
Our King ten thousand seuerd from his host,
My selfe was one, I speake it not in boast.

With these Don Peter put the bastard downe,
Each citie yeelded at our first approch;
It was not long ere he had got the crowne,
And taught his wicked brother to encroch:
In these affaires so well I shewd my might,
That for my labour I was made a knight.

Thus labour neuer looseth his reward,
And he that seekes for honour sure shall speed,
What crauen minde was euer in regard?
Or where consisteth manhood but in deed?
I speake it that confirmd it by my life,
And, in the end, Doll Stodie was my wife.

This worthie hauing finished his taske sette downe by Fame, to confirme the order of his first honour, reposed himselfe amongst the rest, where he found a sweete murmuring of priuate and secrete conference, what had passed by the seuerall annotations of euerie ones prayse, where they beganne (contemning the order of enuie) to colaude the endeuours of one anothers actions, none particularly arrogating in arrogancie the prayse of himselfe; to him that did most, they gaue most applause, and so sweetly concorded in simpathie, that all the Elesian harmonie might haue liberally commended their conditions. The hushing riuers were caulme without murmur or contempt. The leaues stood still, to admire these famous enterprises, and excellent atchieuements. The windes bound themselues up in the contentation of voluntarie stilnesse, that they might be at libertie to hearken to these meritorious men, and yeelded them praise condescending to their paines. The goddesse of darknesse (for envie approched not the place, so that it was by that meanes continually day) whereby the sunne was euer glorious in the pride of his height, without grudging, or any shew of declining; the bright shining of whose alluring countenance inticed another vp, called Sir Iohn Haukwood, or Sir Iohn Sharpe, from the Italians, Iohn Acute, and from thence indeed he brought backe into England, both his name and his noblenesse. The pictures of his renowne, for, as an emblem of endlesse honour, the Venecians wrought underneath his statue, set up in the citie, Giouanno Acuto Caualiero. This Iohn Haukwood, knight, he liued likewise in the time of Edward the Third, that prince of famous memorie. When he pleasantly looked about him, being a man of a most couragious countenance, and an ingenious nature, thus he beganne to speake, as who should say he had wrong to be deferred so long:

Sir Iohn Haukwood, Knight.

WHO knowes my ofspring, doth not knowe my prime,
Who knowes my birth, perhaps, will scorne my deedes;
My valour makes my vertue more then slime,
For that suruiues, though I weare deaths pale weedes:
Ground doth consume the carkas vnto dust,
Yet cannot make the valiants armour rust.

After that eighteene yeares had toucht my head,
Being a prentice boy in Lumbardstreete,
A taylor by my trade, and I had lead
A few wilde years for striplings farre unmeete:
A souldior I was prest to serve in Fraunce,
The Prince of Wales mine honour to inhaunce.

I serude a priuate souldior for a while,
Till courage made me greedie of renowne;
And causde me giue a noble man the foile,
That though with sturdie launce did beare me downe:
On foot that day my selfe did keepe in chace
Some worthie knights that feard to shew her face.

That day, the Prince of Wales, surnamde the Black,
Did mount me on a gallant English steed;
Where I bestirde me so vpon his backe,
That none incountred me that did not bleed:
It was not I, nor Fortune, nor my fate,
His hand it was, that seldome helpes to late.

His be the honour then, and his the prayse,
Yet haue I leaue to speake what Haukwood did;
When noble Edward had disperst the rayes,
And by his prowes of the French was rid:
Three more then I, my selfe did make the fourth,
The gentle princes then dubd knights of worth.

His knights he tearmd vs still amongst the rest,
And gaue vs honour fitting our estate;
For England to be bound it seemd him best,
Because the French had swallowed Edwards baite:
I tooke my leaue, and begged on my knee,
That I might wander other parts to see.

The prince inkindled with my honours heate,
Discharging me, bestowde on me a chaine;
For still fresh courage on my heart did beate,
Which made me loue and womens acts refraine;
Hearing the Duke of Millaine was distrest,
To Italie my voyage then was prest.

The seas I quickly past, and came to shore,
With me were fifteene-hundred English-men;
We marcht to Millaine walles, where we had more
Of other nations to conioyne with them:
There did the Italians tearme me John Acute,
Because I had their foes in such pursute.

Castels and towers I had for my reward,
And got enough to pay my men withall;
But I to hired pay had no regarde,
That prickt me on which climbs the highest wall:
Honour and fame, whereof they gaue me store,
Which made me more audacious then before.

Millaine thus peac'd, the pope oppressed Spaine,
Then thither was I sent to quell his pride;
Which being done, I did returne againe,
And, stoopt with age, in Padua palâce dide:
And he, that yet will heare of Iohn Acute,
In Millaine shall not find the people mute.

All warres you see do ende as well as peace,
And then remaineth but a tumbe of dust;
A voyce of Fame, a blacke and mourning hearce,
To what, then, may we like this worldly lust?
It is an euill vapouring smoke that fumes,
Breaths in the braine, and so the life consumes.

When Sir Iohn Haukwood had boldly presumed by Fames authoritie to speake, he layde him downe, like one that wreaked no guerdon for this grace; but, as if nature brought him forth of dutie to performe these deedes. So, ought every martiall minde imagine, that he is borne for his countrey, as the custome of the ancient and famous Romains was in all their actions, to studie to redounde the honour of their deedes to their countrey. If this were ambition and pride, it would be laid flat in the dust, magnanimitie extolled to the hightest tip of dignitie, and such a sweete concord and vnitie amongst men, that he would be counted most happie that liued longest, for the profite of his friend. When Sir Iohn Haukwood, of this perfection of minde, had layde him downe againe, another of the same stampe called Sir Hugh Calueley, as little ambitious as his fellowe, and as resolute in euerie degree, arose, looking about him, being igneraunt what to doe. But Fame, iogging him on the elbowe, soone awaked him from his maze, whose suppose was his desert, which made him couet to bee obscurde. Therefore, the goddesse was faine to animate him on further, before he would be perswaded to speake. Gentle he was, and full of humanitie, insomuch that he might haue wunne all the powers of that place to admire the basenesse of his profession, being a weauer. But they, that haue honour harbouring in their breasts, cannot but

giue him the right of his due, except the traine of enuie set vpon the traine of honour, as commonly it doth; if it do, see he shall speake for himselfe, and appeale to the most precise, whose wits, being more busie then beautified with moral manners, thrust boldly, yet ignorantly, vpon the well trained sort, approching famous perswasion; he began as sodainly as hee arose sodainly, as if now life had newly reuiued, began to breath this gentle breath from out his mouth.

Sir Hugh Caluerley, Knight.

WHO feares to swim a riuer, dreads the sea,
But he that's best resolu'd dare venture both;
The greatest lumpe doth not the greatest die,
Base mettals to compare with golde are loth:
And why my quiet wit refraines to speake,
Is this, because the tallest ship may leake.

In England late yong Cauerley did liue,
Silke-weauers honour merited by deedes;
In forraine broyles continually I striue,
Of lasting memorie to sow the seedes:
As by experience, they in Poland may
Expresse my English valour euery way.

After my princes seruice done in Fraunce,
I was entreated to the Polish King;
Where as the Frizeland horse doth breake the launce,
And tamelesse beasts a valiant race doth bring:
There Maximilian hunted with his lords,
Entangling mankind beares in toyling cords.

There did I bring a boare vnto the bay,
That spoyld the pleasant fields of Polonie;
And, ere the morning parted with her gray,
The foming beast as dead as clay did lie:
The ladies cheekes lookt red with chearefull blood,
And I was much commended for that good.

Some sayd I looked like Olympian Ioue,
When as he crackt in two the Centaurs bow;
As swiftly footed as the God of Loue,
Or greene Syluanus when he chast the roe:
They brought me crownes of lawrell wreathd with gold,
The sweet and daintiest tongues my prayses told.

These fauours fronted me with courage frowne,
That like the yong Alcides I did looke;
When he did lay the greedie lion downe.

No beast appeard, when I the woodes forsooke;
So that the King supposd I was some wight,
Ordained by heauen to expell their flight.

In scarlet and in purple was I clad,
And golden buskins put vpon my feete:
A casket of the richest pearles I had,
And euery noble gently did me greete.
So with the King I rode vnto the court,
Where, for to see me, many did resort.

At Iustes I euer was the formost man,
In field still forward, Fame can witnesse it;
And Cauerley at Tilt yet neuer ran,
But foming steed so champed on the bit:
But still my horse his masters valour shewd,
When, through my beavir, I with heat had blood.

Yet men of armes, of wit, and greatest skill,
Must die at last, when Deaths pale sisters please;
But then, for honour, fame remaineth still,
When dead delights in graue shall find their ease:
Ye long to know the truth, in Fraunce I dide,
When from the valiant Polands I did ride.

Now, honour, let me lay me downe againe,
And on thy pillow rest my wearie head;
My passed prayse commaunds my soule remaine,
Wherein these rosie bowers, with sweet dew fed:
Though I was valiant, yet my guiltlesse blood,
In crueltie of warre I neuer stood.

Thus this aduenturous martialist having exprest the zeale of his conscience towards his countrey, the toyle and labour he sustained, to better the credite of his first calling, and the perils he waded through to patronage the ancient name of citizens; he reposed himselfe againe downe by the sides of his noble warre-fellowes.

Thus Fame and Clio, the one hauing marked his amiable partes and knightly gesture, the other delineated, with her pen, the eloquence of his oratour-like oration, questioning togither some fewe poynts, concerning the force of valour, and the vertuous inclination of many obscure persons, that although they lie sepultured, as it were, without regarde; yet, if oportunitie fitte them to reuiue their courage, will, like the diamond racked out of clay, excell, or, at least, compare with the brightnesse of glories. Rarest iewels concluded, that there was no perition, but by vertue; no climbing to honour, but by fortitude; and none base, abiect, and ignoble, but the vicious, slouthfull, and faintharted milkesops. They were not wearyed, nor seemed these former knights tales tedious vnto them, although many would thinke it

a paine to bee tied to the hearing of so large a circumstance, and verie few but would exclaime it were plaine slaueric to write such and so many seuerall conceytes, from the mouthes of the speakers. Yet, such was their desire to publish these mens deserts, and the delight they tooke to see the increase spring of the seedes of vertue, for they would not take the smallest recreation, till euery one of the nine had fully finished their discourses, and therefore they attended, when the last would breath the secrets of his breast.

This was a prentice as the rest, and a grocer, sometime dwelling in Cornehill; his face was not effeminate, or his parts of a slender or weake constitution, but, by his lookes, he seemed couragious, and in the height, strength, and faire proportion of his body, victorious. Thus, being in al points armed like a champion, the verie aspect of his outwarde abite made semblance both of manhood and curtesie, wisedome and valour, knit in such a simpathie of operation, that he seemed as much to bee loued for peace, as praysed for prowes. And thus with a voyce, neyther too meane like a child, nor too big like a gyant, but indifferent betwixt both, he spake as followeth:

Henry Maleuerer, Grocer, surnamed Henrie of Cornhill.

A precious cause hath still a rare effect,
And deedes are greatest when the daungers most;
It is no care that trauels dooth neglect,
Nor loue that hath respect to idle cost;
A bramble neuer bringeth forth a rose;
Where fields are fruitfull there the lillie growes.

By this coniecture what may be the end,
Of his defensiue force that fought for Christ;
It is no common matter, if we spend
Both life and goods in quarrell of the hiest;
The least desert dooth merit his reward,
And best employde should haue not worst regard.

No vaine presumption followes my deuise,
For of my actions t' is in vaine to boast,
Yet with the Pagans I encountred twise,
To winne againe faire Sion that was lost:
Vnto which warre I was not forst to go,
T'was honours fire that did incense me so.

For when the Iews opprest with Heathens pride
Of Christian princes craude some friendly ayd,
In euery countrey they were flat denide,
Saue that in England here their sute preuailde:
Such was the furie of intestine strife,
All Europe sought to spoyle each others life.

And as in London there was order tane,
To make prouision for the Holy Land,
My youthfull mind that fearde no forraine bane,
Was so admirde by might of conquering hand:
As for a single combate they did see,
Th' ambassadours made speciall choyse of me.

Then for the tankerd I did vse to beare,
And other things belonging to mine art;
Mine hand did weelde Bellonas warlike speare,
For I was armde in steele to play my part:
Along we went to beard our daring foes,
That soone were queld with terrour of our blowes.

I neuer left the field, nor slept secure,
Vntill I sawe Hierusalem regainde;
To watch and labour I did still endure,
What ist that diligence hath not obtainde?
Yet grudging enuie valour to deface
By treasons malice brought me in disgrace.

The good that I had done was cleane forgot,
Ingratitude preuailde against my life,
And nothing then but exile was my lot,
Or else abide the stroke of fatall knife;
For so the ruler of the Iewes concluded,
His grace by false reports was much deluded.

There was no striuing in a forraine soyle,
I tooke it patient, thought t'were causelesse done,
And to auoyde the staine of such a foyle,
That slaunderous tongues had wickedly begunne;
Where, to the holy well of Iacobs name,
I found a caue to shroude me from their blame.

And though my bodie were within their power,
Yet was my minde vntouched of their hate:
The valiant faint not, though that fortune lower,
Nor are they fearefull at controlling fate:
For in that water none could quench their thirst,
Except he ment to combate with me first.

By that occasion, for my pleasures sake,
I gaue both knights and princes heauie strokes;
The proudest did presume a draught to take,
Was sure to haue his passeport seald with knocks:
Thus liu'd I till my innocence was knowne,
And then returnde; the King was pensiue growne.

And, for the wrong which he had offerd me,
He vowde me greater friendship than before;
My false accusers lost their libertie,
And, next their liues, I could not challenge more:
And thus with loue, with honour, and with fame,
I did returne to London whence I came.

This valerous champion, having here made an end, bowed himselfe. Then Fame with her owne hand gently laid his head vpon a soft downy pillow wrought with gold, and set with pearle, and so leauing him, and the rest, to the happinesse of their sweete sleepe, commanded Clio to claspe vp the booke, wherein she had written the deedes of these nine worthies, and, as her leysure serued her to publish it to the viewe of the worlde, that euery one might read their honourable actions, and take example by them to follow vertue, and aspire to honour; and the rather, 'quoth she, because I would haue malicious mindes that enuye at the deserts of noble citizens, by proofe of these mens worthinesse, to repent their contempt, and amend their captious dispositions, seeing that from the beginning of the world, and in all places of the world, citizens haue flourished and beene famous; as in Rome, Cæsar; in Athens, Themistocles; and, in Carthage, Hannibal; with an infinite number more, that were, by byrth, citizens, by nature martiall, and by industrie renowned. And so they departed from Elisian; and, within a while after, Clio, according to the charge was giuen her, sent forth this pamphlet of her poems.

THE LEVELLERS:

A Dialogue between two young Ladies, concerning Matrimony,

Proposing an Act for Enforcing Marriage, for the Equality of Matches, and Taxing single Persons With the Danger of Celibacy to a Nation. Dedicated to a Member of Parliament.

London; Printed and sold by J. How, at the Seven Stars in Talbot Court, in Grace-church-street, 1703. Quarto, containing thirty-two pages.

An Epistle to a Member of Parliament.

Honoured Sir,

Our fore-fathers, if not now in being, have passed an act, prohibiting the importation of foreign, and for the encouragement of the breed of

English cattle, which, I am told, has much raised the price of land in England. With submission to your better judgment, I think, an act, for increasing the breed of Englishmen, would be far more advantageous to the realm. Some say, That our ships are the walls of our island; but I say, Our men are the walls, the bulwarks, and fortresses of our country. You can have no navies, nor armies, without men; and, like prudent farmers, we ought always to keep our land well stocked. England never prospered by the importation of foreigners, nor have we any need of them, when we can raise a breed of our own.

What you have here presented, is a discourse of two young ladies, who, you find, are very willing to comply with such an act, and are ready to go to work for the good of their country, as soon as they shall have a legal authority; of which, if you are the happy instrument, you will have the blessing of ten-thousand damsels, and the thanks of

Your humble servant,

POLITICA.

POLITICA and Sophia, two young ladies of great beauty and wit, having taken lodgings together, this summer, in the country, diverted themselves in the evenings by walking to a certain shadow, which they might justly call their own, being frequented by none but themselves and the harmonious society of the wood. Here they consumed the happy minutes, not in idle chat peculiar to the ladies of the court and city; they did not dispute the manner of dressing, the beauties and foil of the commode and top-knot, nor the laws and administration of the attiring-room. They talked of nobler subjects, of the beauty and wonderful creation of Almighty God, and of the nature of man, the Lord of the universe, and of the whole dominions of nature. Pity it is we cannot procure all that these ladies have so privately, as they thought, discoursed; but we are very happy in having what follows, which came to our knowledge by a mere accident. A gentleman, lodging in the neighbourhood, one evening, taking a walk for his recreation, haply laid himself down behind a hedge, near the very shadow frequented by these ladies; he had not lain long, before these angels appeared at a distance, and he, peeping through the boughs (which served as a telescope to bring the divine objects nearer his view) was extremely ravished with their beauty; but, alas! What was the beauty of their faces to that of their minds, discovered to this happy man by the soft and charming eloquence of their tongues? And no man in the world was better qualified to give an account of this noble dialogue, than this person, he being an accurate short-hand writer, and had been pupil to Mr. Blainey in that science. and very happily had, at that time, pen, ink, and paper about him; he heard with amazement their discourse on common affairs, but, when the charming Sophia had fixed on a subject, he began to write as follows:

Sophia. My dear sister, how happy are we in this blessed retirement, free from the hurry of the noisy town! Here we can contemplate on the wonders of nature, and on the wisdom of the great founder of the universe. Do you see how the leaves of this thicket are grown, since we first retired to its shadow? It now affords us a sufficient shelter from the heat of the sun, from storms, and rain; see yonder shrub, what abundance of cyons sprout from its root? See yonder ewes, with their pretty lambs skipping and dancing by their sides. How careful is nature to propagate every part of the handy-work of the Almighty! But you and I, my Politica, are useless creatures, not answering the end of our creation in the propagation of our species, for which, next the service of our Creator, we came into the world. This is our sin, and we ought to be transgressors no longer.

Politica. Every creature desires to propagate its species, and nature dictates to every part of the creation the manner of doing it. The brute beasts are subservient to this law, and wholly answer the end of their creation. Now there is the same desire in mankind; but we, who are endowed with noble faculties, and who have countenances erected to behold the wonders of God in the firmament of heaven, look so far into the earth, that we sink beneath the dignity of beasts. In being averse to generation, we offer violence to the laws of God and nature imprinted on our minds. What *she* can say, that nature does not prompt her to the propagation of her species? Which, indeed, is one argument of the immortality of the soul; for the rational faculties concur with the dictates of nature in this point. We are, as it were, immortal upon earth, in our surviving children. It is a sort of hyperbole, but it is as near truth as possibly can be. We are all of us desirous of life; and, since, being mortal, we cannot for ever inhabit this glorious world, we are willing to leave our children in possession.

Politica. I cannot agree with you, Madam, that it is our fault we do not propagate our species, at least, I am sure, it is none of mine; I am young, and healthy, and beautiful enough, and nature daily tells me what work I ought to do; the laws of God circumscribe the doing of it; and yet, notwithstanding my conformity to both, you know, my circumstances will not admit of marriage.

Sophia. The impulse of nature in me, in that respect, is as great as it can be in you, but still under the regulations of the strictest rules of virtue. The end of our creation might be better answered, were not the matrimonial knot to be tied only by the purse-string. I can say, I am young and beautiful, and that without any vanity. This Mr. H——— knows well enough; he loves me intirely, and, I am sure, had rather live all his life-time with me in a garret, on the scrag-end of a neck of mutton, than with the lady his father proposes; but the old curmudgeon will not let his son have the least thoughts of me, because the muck, my father has left me, will not fill so many dung-carts, as he can fill for his son. It is even true, what the parson said, 'Matrimony is become a matter of money.' This is the reason, that you and I stick on hand so long, as the tradesmen at London say, when they cannot put off their daughters.

Politica. Matrimony is, indeed, become a mere trade; they carry

their daughters to Smithfield, as they do horses, and sell to the highest bidder. Formerly, I have heard, nothing went current in the matrimonial territories, but birth and blood; but, alas! this was in the antiquated times, when virtue and honour was a commodity in England, and when the nobility and gentry were in possession of large estates, and were content to live upon them, and keep courts of their own in the country; but, since they abandoned the state and grandeur of their fore-fathers, and became courtiers, and extravagantly wasted their substance in polluted amours in the city, they have no way to repair the cracks in the estates, but by marrying of fortunes; and, if the woman be a fortune, it is no matter how she is descended; gold is the quarry they fly at. I remember some old verses to this purpose:

'Gold marriages makes, 'tis the center of love;
'It sets up the man, and it helps up the woman:
'By the golden rule, all mortals do move,
'For gold makes lords bow to the brat of a broom-man.

These verses are older than either you, or I, and yet they are true in our time.

Sophia. Aye, madam, too true, I find it so; but, methinks, it is a mere way of selling children for money, when, poor creatures, they often purchase what will be a plague to them all their life time, a cursed ill-natured shrew, or a beastly, ill-conditioned husband. Let me live a maid to the last minute of my life, rather than thus to lose my content, my peace of mind, and domestick quiet, and all this for the inconsiderable trifle of a large bag of money for my portion. Let the old curmudgeons keep the golden coxcombs, their sons, for the best market. Heaven send me a spouse, that has sense enough to despise a bargain in petticoats with abundance of money and no brains! Methinks, a Smithfield match is so very ridiculous, that it might nauseate a half-witted courtier. How ridiculous is it for an old miser to shew the portion first, and his daughter afterwards! And, when both parties are agreed upon the price, then miss goes off, coarse or handsome, good or ill-natured, it is no matter. I fancy, an old miser, exposing his daughter to sale, looks like a country farmer selling his white-faced calf in the market, or like a grasier enhancing the price of a ragged, scrubby ox, from the consideration of abundance of tallow he will turn out. Even just such a thing is a Smithfield match; and, as soon as the miser has struck the bargain for his daughter, away he goes to the parson's toll-book, and there is an end of the matter.

Politica. It is even so; but it is a cursed wicked way of wedding; it is perfect kidnapping children in the marriage plantations. This practice is contrary to the laws of nature and God. Those pretty birds, you now hear singing over our heads, last Valentine's Day, chose every one his mate, without the direction, or approbation of their parents. The scripture says (I think it is in the sixth of Genesis, and the second verse) That 'the sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose.' Do but mind

this text of scripture, it is very much to our purpose; it is not there said, That the sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they had abundance of *money*, but they were *fair*, *i. e.* they were such as were beautiful and lovely. This was the attractive of courtship. It is not here said, that the old misers, as now, carried their sons and daughters to *marriage-fair*, and swopped one for the other, with so much money and the vantage; but here the sons are left to chuse themselves wives, and they chose such as were fair, even just such as my beautiful Sophia. And let me make this farther remark, That, for chusing such wives, they are called the 'Sons of God'. Hence it naturally follows, That whosoever do chuse wives after any other manner are the sons of the Devil; and thus the young sold couple are the son and daughter of the devil, and the old miser, that sold them, is the devil's brother-in-law, and so they are matched into a very fine family.

Sophia. Truly, sister, I am apt to think, God Almighty has nothing to do with such matches, though we have a common proverb in England, 'That matches are made in heaven;' I can truly say, as the country wench did, 'They are a long time in coming down' I have waited for one a great while to no purpose; my money will not grow to the height of a husband, though I water it with tears, and air it with sighs; but, prithee, sister, let us contrive some way or other how to remove this great evil, this grievance of celibacy, under which the nation groaneth. I can take it to be nothing less than a national judgment, when our men, the strength of our kingdom, are daily consumed and wasted away by the wars, and there is no care taken of a supply. Our ships and armies, in a short time, will want soldiers; but this is none of our fault; you and I would endeavour at a race of heroes for the service of our country, if we could come honestly at the instruments which make them.

Politica. It is very true; but the remedy: In the first place, sister, let us consider the causes of the evil, and then the remedy. Begin, madam, let me hear your opinion of the cause of this evil.

Sophia. None fitter than your judicious self to lead the way in this argument. But, however, madam, I will obey your command; and I think it is a want of virtue both in young men and women, that is the chief cause of this destructive evil.

Out of civility to the man, I will begin first with our own sex. I am ashamed, and blush to speak it, how many lewd creatures there are of our sex both in the town and country; were there not so many whores, there would be more wives. The vicious sort of men are by them kept from marrying; for it is mere virtue must confine a man to a married state, where he has an uninterrupted converse with womankind as seldom and as often as he pleases, without confinement to any particular person or temper. This made a nobleman say, that "Two things could never be wanted in London, a wife and a watch; because one may have a whore, and see what it is a clock, at the end of every street."

The numerous company of strumpets and harlots, in London, makes the lewd sort of men out of love with matrimony. Nay, I have heard them say, "There is no woman honest after the age of fifteen." I know

they are lyars; but, I am sorry to say it, they have too much reason to be out of love with our sex. Sometimes I myself am almost of their opinion, especially when I consider how shamefully some lewd women prostitute themselves to every rascally porter and boy. And I think it more abominable in the women than the men, for nature has given us more modesty; and, did not the whores ply in the streets, the leacher could never stumble over them.

The men, they are grown full as effeminate as the women; we are rivalled by them even in the fooleries peculiar to our sex. They dress like anticks and stage-players, and are as ridiculous as monkies. They sit in monstrous long perukies, like so many owls in ivy-bushes; and esteem themselves more upon the reputation of being a beau, than on the substantial qualifications of honour, courage, learning, and judgment. If you heard them talk, you would think yourself at a gossipping at Dover, or that you heard the learned confabulation of the boys in the piazza's of Christ's-Hospital. Did you ever see a creature more ridiculous than that stake of humane nature which dined the other day at our house, with his great long wig to cover his head and face, which was no bigger than an Hackney-turnep, and much of the same form and shape? Bless me how it looked! just like a great platter of French soup with a little bit of flesh in the middle. Did you mark the beau tiff of his wig, what a deal of pains he took to toss it back, when the very weight thereof was like to draw him from his seat? Did you not take notice how he replenished his snout with snuff, and what pains he took to let us know that it was Vigo? Did you not wonder at his learned discourse of the womens accoutrements, from the top-knot to the laced shoe; and what lectures he read on the fan, masque, and gloves? He understood ribbons and silk as well as a millmer and mercer, and was a perfect chymist in beauty washes and essences. In short, madam, did you ever see a more accomplished coxcomb in all your life?

Now, my dear, though I must acknowledge our sex to be extraordinary vicious, we will not knock under-board to the men; we have yet more virture left among us than they can match. For though, to our great shame, we are degenerated in one respect, to our commendation we are improved in another. We never had, in any age, women of better parts, of greater virtue, and more knowledge. Learning and wit seem to have forsaken the masculine dominions, and to have taken up their abode in the feminine territories. And, indeed, the men are so wickedly degenerated, that learning, virtue, courage, and conduct seem to be unnecessary accomplishments; for they signify nothing as to their preferment, but they make their fortunes as they make their wives, by money. And truly, madam, we have no great occasion to boast that we have supplanted the men of their virtue, for we have got that from them which did them no service, and which we must conceal, or else be laughed at for shewing it. However, madam, let us admire virtue, which gives that inward contentment, which all the riches of the world cannot purchase.

Politica. I think, my dear Sophia, the parents are as much the cause of celibacy as the children, by breeding them above their quality and estates. I give myself for an example. You know my father [illegible]

a tradesman, and lived very well by his traffick; and, I being beautiful, he thought nature had already given me part of my portion, and therefore he would add a liberal education, that I might be a compleat gentlewoman. Away he sent me to the boarding-school; there I learned to dance and sing, to play on the bass-viol, virginals, spinnet, and guitair. I learned to make wax-work, japan, paint upon glass, to raise paste, make sweet-meats, sauces, and every thing that was genteel and fashionable. My father died, and left me accomplished, as you find me, with three-hundred pounds portion; and, with all this, I am not able to buy an husband. A man, that has an estate answerable to my breeding, wants a portion answerable to his estate; an honest tradesman, that wants a portion of three-hundred pounds, has more occasion of a wife that understands cookery and housewifery, than one that understands dancing, and singing, and making of sweet-meats. The portion, which nature gave me, proves now my detriment; my beauty is an obstacle to my marriage; an honest shop-keeper cannot keep a wife to look upon. 'Beauty, say they, is like a tavern bush, it is hung out in the face to shew what commodity is to be sold;' it is but like an honey-pot, which will fill a house with bees and wasps; and the poor tradesman, that has such a wife, will dream of nothing but horns, as long as he has her; so that, madam, I conclude, our parents are great causes of this evil, in educating their children beyond their estates.

Sophia. But how would you order the matter with one in my circumstances? My father, when I was born, was a gentleman of a plentiful estate, and gave me education according to the portion he designed me; but he, being a true Englishman, joined with the Duke of Monmouth in the recovery of our rights, which, he then thought, were in danger; and, in that enterprise, he lost his life and estate, and so I lost my portion, and have nothing to subsist on, but the charity of my good aunt. I can marry nothing but a gentleman, and very few, if any of them, are inclined to marry the poor remains of an honourable and virtuous family. What can I do?

Politica. Truly, my dear, our cases are both desperate; we cannot *come up* to good estates, and gentlemen of good estates will not *come down* to us. I have often wondered, that there are no compulsive laws inforcing matrimony, but that, instead thereof, there are laws discouraging of marriage, as is the act for births and burials, especially to the poorer sort of people, who are generally the greatest breeders; for, by this act, when there is a certain charge to a family, there is a certain duty to the Queen. Now, if there was a law inforcing of matrimony, it would more effectually answer the end of her Majesty's pious proclamations for the encouragement of virtue, and for the suppressing of all manner of immorality and profaneness. For such a law would put a stop to abundance of whoring; it would make the women virtuous, on purpose to get good husbands, and the men thrifty and diligent in their callings, in order to maintain their families. The ruin both of body, soul, and estate proceeds from this omission in our laws. I am sure, a law of this nature would not only be acceptable in the sight of God, but it would be very advantageous to the kingdom.

Sophia. I am very well satisfied in the truth of what you say, but,

at the same time I do not think a law compulsive of marriage reasonable in all respects; there are a sort of monsters of men, called women-haters; these brutes would be destroyed by this act. Nature also has excluded, by its deficiencies, some men from the state of matrimony; others are of such monstrous ill-humours, that they can match no where but in the nunnery of Billingsgate; therefore, madam, if you get this act passed, it must contain many proviso's and exceptions.

Politica. Not in the least; I would have it a general compulsive act, after this manner: Every batchelor, at the age of twenty-four years, should pay such a tax to the queen; suppose it twenty shillings per annum for the meanest rank of men, and what the parliament thinks fit for those of higher degree. Every widower, which has been so upwards of one year, and is under the age of fifty years, to pay the same sum. Now, according to computation, we have seen millions of men in England, and, suppose two millions of the seven be batchelors and widowers, qualified as before, according to their several ranks and qualities taxed by act of parliament, they will pay into the queen's exchequer, yearly, the sum of two millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling, which will be almost enough to defray the charge of the war by land and sea.

The reasonableness of the act is plain, for that unmarried people are, as it were, useless to the state; they are, like drones in a hive, reaping the advantage of other people's labours; they have their liberties and freedoms secured by the loss of other men's lives, and do not, from their own loins, repair the native strength of the kingdom; they are not so good as the spider, which hangs in the loom drawn from her own bowels: On the other hand, it is reasonable to ease such in taxes, as have numerous families to the advantage of the commonwealth; for these are at daily charge in breeding up their issue for the defence and safety of the kingdom.

Sophia. Your notions are very good and proper; but how will you be able to put them into practice? I hope you will not sollicit this bill yourself at the house of commons; you ought to have some way or other to communicate it to some particular member, that he may bring it in, as his own, and get a good reward for his pains from the court. Do not you remember, Mrs. Murray told us, the other day, how her husband was served about his project of exchequer bills? They got it to themselves, and did not give the honest gentleman one groat for his invention. Now, madam, if you could make yourself a portion by their making an act, you would do very well, you would serve yourself and your country; but, if this act passeth, I do not find, that you and I shall be the better for it, for the men are still left to the liberty of chusing, and they will chuse for the best portions; we are no nearer the marriage-bed than before. Pray think of some compulsive act, that may inforce them to marry me and you.

Politica. It will be very difficult to get a particular clause in our favour, it will cost us, at least, our maidenheads; and then, you know, we need not much trouble our heads about matrimony, we need not shut the stable-door when the steed is stolen. Pray, madam, let me

hear how you would have it for your own advantage? It is now your turn to propose.

Sophia. Nature has made all things on a level; our first father made no jointure in marriage, nor had our first mother any portion. Adam was lord, and Eve was mistress of the universe; and we ought to tread in the steps of our lady mother, and bring our husband no more than what nature hath given us. Settlements and portions never came into custom, till such time as murder and rapine had entered the world, and dowries were first brought into fashion by the posterity of Cain. The hellish miser, which the other day made so many scruples about my portion, did you not observe the mark of Cain in his forehead? The match-brokers look just like the wandering Jews in England, followed by the curse of God into all countries where they come.

Now, it is an easy matter for the parliament of England to bring marriages on the same level, as was designed at first by nature. I will propose how: Suppose every gentleman of one thousand pounds per annum, was obliged to marry gentlewomen of such quality and portion with ourselves, and, if he would not marry at all, his estate should become forfeited to the use of the publick.

Politica. That would be hard, to take away all a man has in the world, because he will not marry.

Sophia. We will then find a medium: Suppose we build and endow them an alms-house with their own money, where every one of them shall have a convenient apartment, with a bed, and two pair of sheets, one chair, one candlestick, a chamber-pot, and fire-place, and some other cheap necessaries. We will allow them one coat a year, with a yellow badge on the arm, as the mark of a batchelor; and every ten of them shall have one old woman to wait upon them: They shall be chiefly fed with water-gruel, and barley-broth; and, instead of meat, they shall eat potatoes, Jerusalem artichokes, turneps, carrots, and parsnips; for you know they come into that hospital, because they do not love flesh.

Politica. Oh! fye madam, fye upon you! that would use brisk young gentlemen at such a cruel rate: This is downright tyranny.

Sophia. I am sorry to see you so tender of those, who are so cruel to our sex: But here is no cruelty at all in the case; consider the thing rightly, madam, and you will find it otherwise. We esteem it the highest charity to provide alms-houses for the antient superannuated poor, who are past their labour; now a man that is not come to his labour of generation, at twenty-five years of age, is certainly past it, and we ought to reckon him as superannuated, and grown an old boy, and not fit to be trusted with what he has, as not knowing the use and benefit of riches.

What I say, in this respect, is the common practice of mankind in things of another nature. The husbandman, if he has got a tree in his orchard, that has grown a long time, and has bore no fruit, he cuts him down for fuel, and plants another in his room: Why may we not do the same by the human batchelor trees; especially, since they are grafted on so good stocks, and are so well watered and pruned? That is a very ill sort of seed that will fructify in no soil. It is the same

thing in government; a batchelor is a useless thing in the state, does but cumber the ground, and takes up the room of a generous plant, which would be of great advantage to the commonwealth. I tell you, madam, according to the laws of nature and reason, a batchelor is a minor, and ought to be under the government of the parish in which he lives; for, though he be a housekeeper and for himself, as they call it, yet, having no family, he cannot be reckoned a good commonwealth's man; and if he is not a good one, he is a bad one, which ought not to be suffered; nay, he is not a perfect man till such time as he is married, for it is the woman is the perfection of the man.

Politica. Madam, I know you are endowed with true English principles; pray consider, whether the law you mention be not destructive of Magna Charta, since, without cause or offence, it deprives a man of his property, and takes from him the estate which legally descended to him from his ancestors.

Sophia. Madam, I find you hold me to hard meat, I must give reasons for the passing of my bill: I argue thus, a person who has broken, and forfeited his right to the Magna Charta of nature, ought to have no protection by the Magna Charta of Englishmen. I prove my proposition thus; A batchelor of age, as such, has broken the laws of nature: Increase and multiply is the command of nature, and of the God thereof; now, having broken the laws of nature, he ought not to have any protection from the laws of England, because such, as have protection by those laws, do contribute to the support of those laws, which an adult batchelor does not do according to the constitution of Magna Charta. Our forefathers purchased the liberties of Magna Charta, with the hazard of life and limb; they sealed that writing with the blood of themselves and their children, and, after the same manner those privileges were procured, must they be supported and maintained. Now a batchelor contributes little or nothing to the support of our freedoms; the money he pays in taxes is inconsiderable to the supplies given by others in children, which are an addition to the native strength of the kingdom: Money is like the soft and easy showers, which only cool and moisten the surface of the earth; children are like the soaking rain which goes to the root, and makes trees and vegetables fructify for the use of man: Indeed, my dear, a batchelor can, in no sense, be esteemed a good Englishman.

From the reasons aforesaid, I cannot think the batchelors are injured by my bill. Acts of parliament ought not to respect private interests; they are made for the good of the community, for the advantage of the whole people of England, and you shall seldom find any act passed, but what is to the detriment of some particular persons. We thought it no injustice to prohibit the importation of East India silks, notwithstanding the detriment thereby accrued to that company; and perhaps put all the ladies in court and city into the mulligrubs. These things the good parliament never considered, but passed the bill in favour of the multitude of weavers in this kingdom, who get abundance of children for the support of the nation, and which must have starved, if foreign commodities had been imported to the destruction of the weaving trade. That batchelors, that would come under this statute, are but

an inconsiderable number, compared with the aggregate sum of the whole kingdom.

Politica. Suppose, madam, your reasons should weigh with the house of commons: There is another sort of batchelors, that answer the end of their creation, and yet are not married; I mean such as multiply their species on misses and concubines, which, in plain English, are whores: Nay, they can content themselves to do it with their female servants, who serve under them for that purpose; these will find a way to creep out, if you do not bind your act very close.

Sophia. That is well thought on, upon my virginity! It is true, these are a dangerous sort of creatures; concubinage and whoring are grievous sins, both in the sight of God and man; and the divine laws, as also the laws of England, are very strict against such offenders, and yet you see they do not find holes to creep through and escape punishment. But the law I propose will tie them fast; for, do but observe it, madam, those laws are best executed, that bring money into the exchequer; every one would be a fisherman, if the fishes came like St. Peter's, with money in their mouths. I dare engage I will sooner get a warrant to search for prohibited uncustomed goods, or to seize a brewer's copper for non-payment of excise, than I can prepare a warrant to search a bawdy-house. Do but once make it appear, that godliness is gain, and I will warrant you a thorough reformation of manners. Now my act does this thing to a T; I make men honest and virtuous, and, by doing so, I make the government rich, and ease the subjects in the burden of taxes. And I dare engage, if ever you see my bill passed the royal assent, you will find it well executed.

Politica. That is according to the honesty and virtue of the commissioners and assessors, appointed for that purpose; if they are not virtuous and honest, they may lessen your tax, and cause a deficiency. This has been the effect of letting landed-men assess landed-men, and tradesmen assess stock; when, if a tradesman had assessed land, and a landed-man had assessed trade, being so very different in interest, they would have raised the fund to the height. Therefore, my dear sister, be cautious in this point, take my advice, I am your senior; let no old fornicator be an assessor, commissioner, or collector of your duty; he, that has in his time loved a bit of old hat, will be tender in punishing the sin of his youth. With him exclude all such as were batchelors before the passing of the act; they will suffer, nay, contrive a deficiency, that the act may be repealed. In short, let none be concerned in the assessing or collecting of this duty, but such as have many years lived with their wives in conjugal chastity, and by them have a very numerous issue; these, I will warrant you, will take care to bring the utmost penny into the exchequer.—But pray, how do you design to punish such of this sort of batchelors, that will not comply with your act? I hope you will allow them a separate maintenance; you will build them an alms-house also, will you not?

Sophia. As the others are used like fools and superannuated persons, so we will use these like madmen. We will build them a convenient bedlam, wherein every one of them shall be chained about the middle to a post, like a monkey; we will feed them with low diet, as the

others, and once a month they shall be blooded and shaved. To aggravate their crime, we will make every one of them a Tantalus, by bringing every day handsome ladies before them, who shall laugh and jeer at them, and then turn their backs upon them.

Politica. I protest, madam, you are very cruel: Would you be willing to be served so yourself?

Sophia. Yes, sister, when I refuse matrimony upon good and equal terms: Pray, do they not do the same by us? Are not we daily presented with the sight of batchelors of good estates, who come to us under pretence of lawful courtship, to prosecute an unlawful amour? They come to us like butterflies to flowers, to spit maggots on us, and then leave us to be devoured by infamy and scandal: There is no punishment bad enough for these monsters of men; I would fain have my will upon them one way or other, either by marrying them all out of hand, or by punishing them for living single.

Politica. I do indeed think a levelling of marriages is the most reasonable thing in the world; mankind is on a level in all things but this; one man has wit and wants money; another has money and wants wit; a third has strength, and wants both money and wit; one is poor and contented with his condition; another has no peace of mind, nor satisfaction, amidst all his riches, but is, amongst his bags of money, as a person in Little Ease or Bridewell; so that nature seems to have designed a level, only we raise mountains and hills on purpose to deface the works of nature. But, sister, here's one thing yet to be considered, that there are several young gentlemen born to good fortunes, who would marry me or you; but they are kept from it by the advice of their parents. Now, though I would have such punished as are unmarried with good estates in their own possession, yet would I have some respect to those who would and cannot: There is Mr. ———, he often gives me visits, he loves my company, his eyes talk of love, which is more than his tongue durst so much as mention; for he tells me, the beldam his mother, and the old curmudgeon his father, have made a resolution, that he shall never marry but with a woman of five-thousand pounds fortune: But, says he, if they die, I'll marry where I please. They may live a long time, and, if I should stay for him, by that time beauty may have lost its charms; and some younger Phillis, or other, may interpose and get the prize from me. For love, madam, is the most fickle and changeable thing in the world: My wit will last as long as my virtue, and both these are not lessened but improved by age. But did you ever know a man that loved a woman for virtue and wit? No, there are other attractives which make so great a sound in the world, that they drown the low voice of virtue and wit.

Sophia. I would have these old folks, that hinder their children from matrimony, as severely punished as the old batchelors: The fabulous punishment of leading apes in hell is not enough; I would have them punished even in this life. I pray God send them some such distemper as the pox; which, in this life, is the punishment of adulterers and whoremongers: Nay, sometimes they are caught and pay dear enough for their trifling with the years of youth, and not entering the

bounds of matrimony, till the time of their doatage. I will tell you a very pretty and true story:

A certain doctor of divinity of the university, aged about sixty years, from the profits of a good benefice, and other comfortable church emoluments, together with a thrifty life, had acquired an estate of five-hundred pounds per annum; but the pious churchman, being still desirous of a larger share of the good things of this life, thought of ways and means of aggrandising his fortune. No better way could he think on than marriage; for, he having lived a batchelor, and, by his industry, procured such an estate, he thought his spiritual and temporal endowments deserved a considerable fortune. After he had made many enquiries among his friends and acquaintance for a suitable help-mate, called a wife, with a sufficient quantity of money, he pitched upon a justice of the peace's daughter, about ten miles distant from his own habitation. The young gentlewoman was about sixteen years of age, and had ten thousands pounds portion. Her money made an atonement for her want of years, for the bags and the girl were just old enough for the doctor.

As soon as the doctor had intelligence of this young lady, he pursues the notion with all the vehemence imaginable; and hereupon one day at dinner he breaks bulk to his man John, and tells him of his design of wedding, and orders him to get his horse ready the next morning early, and likewise another for himself, to accompany him part of the way, which he accordingly did; and, after John had travelled with him about half way, he was dismissed by the doctor, who travelled on by himself till within a mile of the justice's house, where seeing an old hedger in the way, he asked him, if he knew esquire ———. He told him, yes, he had reason so to do, for he had been his servant above thirty years; and that he had married his wife out of the family, who was also an old servant of the squire's. Well then, says the doctor, you must needs know his daughter, Mrs. Anne. Yes, I think I do, says the hedger, she's a fine young gentlewoman, and my master can give her a power of money: I will tell you what, doctor, I understand trap; I fancy you have a mind to Mrs. Anne. Why, replies the doctor, what if I have; what then? Why then, says the hedger, my master being a hugy rich man, and my mistress a young woman, he may think you both too old, and not rich enough: And therefore, doctor, if I might advise you, I would first have you see how you like the girl; it is good to look before you leap. Which way can I do that, quoth the doctor? Oh, quoth the old man, let me alone, I can contrive that well enough. Hereupon the doctor gives him a broad-piece, telling him, he found he could do him a kindness; and that, if he did it, he should never want, for he had five-hundred pounds a year, besides spiritual preferments. Aye, says the old man, I have often heard of you. I do not question but we shall bring the matter about: my master has a great respect for the church. Pray, Sir, go a little farther to my house, and I will give you a cup of the best, and some good bread and cheese, and there we will consider farther of the matter. I will warrant we will contrive the business well enough.

With all my heart, says the doctor. Away goes the doctor more

freely than to church, and the hedger as if he were going to the wedding. When they were come to the house, and eating the best it afforded; says the countryman, master doctor, if I could get mistress Anne to my house, would not that do well? Rarely well, quoth the doctor, if you can but compass it: But does she ever come hither? Very often, says the old man, to see her old servants. But how will you contrive it? says the doctor. Leave that to me, quoth the hedger. Away goes the old fellow, and enters into discourse with his wife; says he to her, I am minded to put a trick upon the doctor: The good wife in a passion replies, you S————, you old fool, you put a trick on a great man of the church! Hold your tongue, Goody Simpleton, says the old man; I find the great doctors bred at the versity have no more wit than we country folk: Get you gone immediately to the squire's, and take my daughter Joan along with you, and pray Mrs. Anne to dress her in her best cloaths, for there is a gentleman at our house desires to see her in such a habit. Now you must understand their daughter Joan was about the same age and stature with Mrs. Anne, and had a great deal of beauty, obscured by homely country weeds, and she had by nature a pretty stock of the mother wit of the knave her father. Away trudges the old woman with Joan her daughter: Her request was no sooner asked but granted, and Joan was presently turned into a little angel, by the help of Mrs. Anne's accoutrements. The doctor, you may be sure, waited with much impatience all this while; sometimes in hopes, and other times in despair. But the hedger, standing with his face towards the way, at length espies his wife and Mrs. Anne (for that must be the name of Joan at present) coming towards the house. The old man begs leave of the doctor to go and meet Mrs. Anne, and conduct her to the house, which he did presently, by running cross a field; he made abundance of scrapes and cringes to madam Anne, with his hat in his hand, and then, stepping behind her like a footman, he followed her home all the way, instructing her how to manage herself in this weighty concern.

When they came to the house the doctor receives her with abundance of ceremony; the countryman also made some rustick bows and compliments, and tells her, it was a great favour in her ladiship to come in a visit to her poor old servants, and humbly intreats the favour of her to sit down; for, though the gentleman present was a stranger to her ladiship, he was a person of quality, a learned and rich doctor of the church, who, in humility, peculiar to the clergy, had vouchsafed to give so poor a man as he a visit. With much coyness madam Anne sits down, and, having made a bow from her seat to the doctor, she asked her old servants, how they did. The doctor being smitten with the visible part of Mrs. Anne's portion, and ruminating on the invisible; the old man thought it was time to retire, which he did, by leaving a scrape or two on the earthen floor with his foot.

The doctor had now what he came for, and to work he goes. He had forgot Thomas Aquinas, Dunce Scotus, and other unintelligible cramp authors. Philosophy signifies nothing in an amour, and logick of itself is enough to curdle a virgin's milk; therefore the doctor accosted her with all the soft expressions he could remember in *Ovid de Arte Aman-*

di, which, the learned say, is the only way to know to resolve the difficult questions in Aristotle's problems; and, the girl having heat of beauty enough at that age to warm a stoick, by the vehement attraction thereof the doctor joined countenances; but never did a poor young lady receive kisses after a more modest and coy manner; and well might she blush at such an exercise; for the poor creature never smelt man before, and it was the first time that ever she saw the doctor.

After the doctor and Mrs. Anne had been above an hour together, in steps the old man. The girl she modestly retires, as well for instruction as to give an account how things went. In the mean time, the old man asks the doctor how he liked the lady, and what encouragement she gave him? The doctor, being ravished with the visible and invisible qualifications of Mrs. Anne, expressed abundance of satisfaction, and how happy a man he should be if he could obtain his prize. Says the old man, At her again, Mr. Doctor, she is a brave good-humoured lady, and I told her sufficiently what you are: Says the doctor, prithee canst not thou get us something good to eat and drink; here's money, if thou canst. Away goes the old man, but first got Mrs. Anne into the room with the doctor, which was done with many intreaties, and performed with a wonderful modesty.

We will leave the doctor and Mrs. Anne hard at work on the anvil of courtship, whilst the old woman and her husband are getting supper ready, which they were so long about, that it grew late, and Mrs. Anne was just going. The doctor, you may be sure, intreated her to stay; and the old man and woman sollicited very hard on the same account, telling the lady, that they had nothing worthy of her acceptance, but the honour she would do them, now they had a great doctor of the church at their house, would be very great. In short, they argued so much, that Mrs. Anne was at length prevailed upon to stay; the old man whispers the doctor, that he had kept supper back on purpose that he might have the more of the young lady's company, and therefore advised him to make the best use of his time. Certainly, never any young lady made her lover so happy at the first interview; to work goes the doctor, he courts like a dragon; with an irresistible fury he lets fly whole vollies of bombaste rhetorick at her head, enough to beat a poor country girl's brains out; no stone did he leave unturned, but persists in his courtship, till interrupted by the old man's bringing in the supper, which, we may imagine, could not be less than a couple of cocks with bacon, and it is well, if the fowls did not come out of the squire's coop, as well as the cloaths out of his daughter's wardrobe.

Down sits the doctor, having first placed Mrs. Anne at the upper end of the table, and, having said a short grace, he desired the old couple to sit down, as did also Mrs. Anne. But they refused it, saying, they should not be so impudent as to set at table chick by chowle with a great doctor of the church, and their Mrs. Anne, who agreed with the doctor to make them both sit down, which at last they did, in conformity to the church and their mistress; and so they all fell heartily to pecking till they had consumed the whole provision.

Supper being over, the old man asks his wife in the next room, what time of night it was; the old woman replied, it was past eight of the

clock; at which, the old man fell into a violent passion, and scolded horribly at his wife, for not taking notice how the time went away. The doctor, hearing this combustion, comes to know the meaning of it. The old man tells him, he is undone for ever; he has kept Mrs. Anne here so late that she is locked out of doors, her family being always in bed by eight of the clock, and that, on this account, the 'squire will turn him out of his service, by which he got his livelihood. The doctor pacifies him, by telling him, that, since this thing must happen on his account, he nor his wife should never want as long as he lived. Well, says the old man, Mr. Doctor, since you are such a charitable man, I will put you in a way to do your business at once; if you should apply yourself to the 'squire, he will hardly be brought to terms; for, though you have a good estate, yet I know the 'squire will marry my mistress to a young man; and seeing you have now a fair opportunity, having the night before you, try to get her consent, and take her away with you by three or four in the morning to some parson of your acquaintance, and marry her My master will be soon reconciled, for he has no other child to inherit his estate. A good thought, says the doctor, and I will try what can be done in the case.

You may be sure, madam, now the doctor attacks the lady with all the fury imaginable; the silence of the night and want of sleep, as I have heard those skilled in love affairs say, are great advantages to an invading lover; these are the best times in which to storm a lady's fortress. This, I suppose, the doctor well enough knew, and therefore carried on the siege with vigour, and, before three in the morning, the young lady had capitulated, and surrendered upon articles; which the doctor tells the old man of with abundance of pleasure, who, you may be sure, bids the doctor joy. The doctor desires the old man to get him a pillion, which, indeed, the old man had before provided; and away goes the doctor and his lady, and were that day married.

The doctor did not stay long at the place of marriage, but privately returns to his own house, where he acquainted some of his friends of his enterprise, who highly applauded his ingenuity; but he enjoined them all to secrecy for some time. The doctor daily expected a hue and cry after Mrs. Anne; but, hearing nothing of it, he concluded the servants had some how or other concealed the story from her father; but his friends advised him by all means to go to the justice, and acquaint him with what he had done with his daughter, and beg his pardon for so doing, as a means of reconciliation.

The doctor understanding the justices of the peace were to meet that day about some particular business in the town; he went to enquire for the justice, whom he only knew by sight, and the justice had no other knowledge of the doctor. The doctor, in his best Pontificalibus's, comes to the place of meeting, which was an inn, and asks the drawer, whether esquire ——— was there; who answered, he was. He bids him shew him a room, and go tell the esquire, that doctor ——— desired to speak with him; the esquire desires the doctor to come to him and the rest of the gentlemen, they having at that juncture no business before them; but the doctor sends word again that his business was private, and he intreated the esquire to come to him, upon which the

esquire comes. The doctor he falls on his knees, and begs his pardon; the esquire was surprised, as knowing nothing of the matter, and, being unwilling to be homaged by the church, he desires the doctor to rise, or otherwise he would talk no farther with him. The doctor refused to do it till such time as he had his pardon. The esquire, knowing of no offence, freely gave him a pardon; which done, the doctor arises, telling him, he was sorry that one in his coat should be guilty of such a crime. The esquire, being still in the dark, replied, he knew no crime he was guilty of: Sir, says the doctor, I have married your daughter: Married my daughter, says the esquire, you are certainly mistaken, doctor. It is certainly true, says the doctor. Says the esquire in a great passion, How long have you been married to my daughter? I have lain with her these three nights, says the doctor: Says the esquire, you are strangely mistaken, doctor, for I left my daughter at home this morning. Says the doctor, you are strangely imposed upon by your servants, therefore be so kind as to go to my house and see your daughter, who is there at this present. The esquire, in an odd sort of confusion, goes along with him to the house, and, being conducted into the parlour where madam sat in state on her couch, the esquire burst out into a fit of laughter, and, going to the lady, salutes her, and wishes her much joy, and then told the doctor the mistake; for, says he, this lady is my servant ——— the hedger's daughter Joan, dressed in my daughter's cloaths. The doctor, being astonished for some time, recovers himself, comes up to her, takes her in his arms, and, kissing her, says, If thou art Joan, I will love thee as well as if thou hadst been Mrs. Anne. And, for aught I know, she made him as good a wife; for, though she perfectly kidnapped the old child, yet they lived very comfortably together.

Politica. I can nick your story with one of a clergyman, that was as indifferent about a portion as yours was curious. Mr. G———, a minister in Suffolk, and of a considerable estate, lived without thoughts of marriage, till the age of fifty years; at which time one of his parishioners put him in thoughts of matrimony. He said he had been so intent on his studies, that he never thought of a wife; but that now, if he could find out a good one he would marry. The gentleman told him, such a person about twelve miles off had three daughters, either of which would make him a good wife, but their fortunes were but small. The parson said, he knew the gentleman very well ,but did not know he had any daughters; and, as for money, that was a thing he did not value. The parson, in a short time, gives the gentleman a visit, who made him very welcome, not knowing the design of his coming; but the parson told him, that he heard he had three daughters, and one of them would make him a good wife. The gentleman replied, he had three daughters, and that he hoped they would prove to the satisfaction of any person who should marry them, and told him either of them was at his service. The parson said, they were all alike to him; but, since it was usual to marry the eldest first, he would take her; the gentleman replied with all his heart. Upon which the eldest daughter was called in. The parson, sitting in his chair, and smoaking his pipe, told her, he had heard she would make him a good wife. The young

lady, surprised, told him, she did not know that, but did believe she should be a good wife to any one that should marry her. The parson put the grand question, Whether she would have him? She told him, Matrimony was a thing of that moment as required a great deal of consideration, and not to be so speedily determined. He told her, his studies would not allow him a long courtship; and, pulling out his watch, laid it on the table, and told her he would give her an hour's time to consider of it. Away goes the girl, but, believing it to be a banter, she thought very little on that subject; the parson having looked on his watch, and finding the hour was gone, he desired the young lady might be again called in. When she came, the parson shewed her the watch, telling her the hour was past, and that he hoped she had considered of what he had spoke to her about; she told him, that, it being a matter of such great consequence, it required a much longer time than he had set for that purpose. The parson hereupon began to fret, and told her further, He found she would not have him, and therefore he desired his horse to be brought out, for he would be going homewards. The gentleman pressed him to continue longer; withall, telling him, though the eldest required so much time for consideration, perhaps the second might not.

The parson was hereby prevailed upon to smoak another pipe, and the second daughter was brought in, to whom he carried himself as to the former, and also allowed her an hour's time to consider of it. You may be sure, during this time, the father and mother worked the girl to say, Yes, as plain as if she had been in the church. The time being elapsed, the parson was impatient to go home, wife or no wife, he was so indifferent. The girl was now called in, and the parson asked her, Whether she had considered of the manner? She answered, Yes. Then will you have me? She answers, Yes. Very well then, says the parson to the father, all is done but matrimony; and when shall that be? When you please, says the father. Then, says the parson, let it be on Tuesday next. But, says the father, who shall get the licence? I will take care of that, says the parson; and so, taking leave of the father, away he goes. When he had gone about three or four miles, and thinking of the licence, he remembered he had not taken his wife's christian name, and so he rode back again as hard as he could drive, and, riding up the house, he found the eldest daughter standing at the door, so he asked her what was her christian name? She told him; he bid her a good night, and away he goes.

The day being come, and the licence being got ready, the parson comes to fetch his wife; away goes the father with him, and his three daughters, and two or three other relations, to the church, where the parson and clerk were ready to make matrimonial execution. The parson asked the father and Parson G———, which of the daughters was to be married; they answered the second daughter; but the parson told them the first daughter's name was in the licence, and therefore he could not marry them till they had got another licence. Parson G——— told them, he could not defer it any longer, and therefore he would be dispatched somehow or other, and told them it was all one to him which of them he had, and so he goes to the eldest, and asks

her whether she would have him? And she, having better considered of the point, answered Yes, and so they were married.

From church they went home to her father's house, where, having dined, he tells his wife she must put up such things as she designed to carry home with her, for he would quickly be going homewards. The relations begged of him to stay all night, and bed his wife at her father's house, it being the usual custom so to do; he told them, he would lie no where but at his own house, and that he would be going presently. The relations finding no arguments would prevail upon him to tarry, they got Mrs. Bride ready; and the parson, coming to the door, espied several horses ready saddled and bridled; he asked, what the meaning of those horses was? They told him, for some of his wife's relations, to accompany him home; he said, no body should go along with him but his wife; and so they were forced to stable their horses, and let the married couple go home by themselves.

When they came home, he conducted her into the house, and saluted her, which was the first time; and, after he had bid her welcome, and they had sat about half an hour, the parson calls the old maid, and bids her bring the spinning wheel, and told his wife, he did not doubt but she was a good housewife, and knew how to make use of that instrument. She told him, Yes; then he tells her, he did expect she would work while he was at work, and no longer. So away goes he to his study, and Mrs. Bride to working with the whirling-engine. About an hour after he comes down, and tells her, now she must leave work, and bids the old maid get supper ready. After they had supped, he goes into his study, and she to her spinning wheel. When he returns again from his study, he tells her, now she must leave work. After a short discourse, he went to prayers with the family, and then orders the old maid to light her mistress up stairs, and put her to bed.

Away goes Madam Bride to bed, without any ceremony of eating sack-posset, or throwing the stocking; and, as soon as she was in bed, in comes the parson, and to bed goes he; but, sitting up in it, he bids the maid bring him the little table, a great candle, and such a book from the study, which she did, and the parson went to his reading; upon which, the bride calls to the maid. The parson asked her, what she wanted? She told him, Something. The maid coming, he bid her speak to her mistress, who bids her bring up the spinning-wheel, and a great candle in the long candlestick; which the maid having done, Mrs. Bride went to whirling it about as hard as ever she could drive. At which the parson could hardly forbear bursting out into laughter, and, finding that spinning and reading did not agree well together, he put out his candle, and laid him down in bed like a good husband.

The next morning, he told her, that he found her a wife of a suitable temper to himself, and that, for the future, she might work or play when she pleased; that he left all his temporal concerns to her management, and they lived a very happy couple together, till death parted them.

This, madam, is indeed a very comical story; however, the young woman got a good husband by the bargain. Humours are indeed very uneasy companions, but the whole course of human life is attended

with mixtures of pleasure and pain, and it is but common prudence for us to overlook a few impertinences, rather than lose the most necessary comforts of life. We have all of us our whims and humours in relation to matrimony; sometimes they abound in the parents, and sometimes in the children, sometimes in the husband, sometimes in the wife; for my part I do not know who is clear of them. We are now fallen into the humour of telling stories under this green bower, as if we were in a chimney corner at christmas, which is a sort of impertinence, pardonable in those who have nothing to do but pass away their time in tattle, and reading of books; however, it is more commendable than to gossip, as the London ladies do, over sack and walnuts, cool tankards, and cold tea, and all the time rail at their husbands for being at the tavern. I will propagate the humour we are fallen into, by telling you a true story of a miserly old humourist.

A certain country gentleman of about one-thousand pounds per annum, having buried his wife and all his children, took a brother's son into the house, as his heir, and gave him the best education that country would afford. The boy being a youth of clean parts, and good ingenuity, he improved to an extraordinary degree in so barren a soil, and so very dutiful withal, that the old man perfectly doated on him, and was uneasy when he was out of his company. When he came to years of maturity, was grown ripe, and ready to be shaken into the matrimonial bed, the old gentleman asked him, Whether he was inclined to marry? The young man, with an unwilling modesty, told him, what he pleased; he wholly referred that, and every thing else relating to himself, to his care, thinking himself always happy and safe under his conduct. Says the old cuff, Thou hast been a very dutiful child to me, and therefore, says he, I am willing to please thee. Shall I look thee out a wife? The young man (who without doubt would have been better pleased to have looked out a wife for himself) answered, With all his heart.

The old gentleman looks out accordingly, and, being well known in the country, was not long in pursuit of a wife for his nephew, which happened to be a gentleman's daughter about ten miles distant from his own habitation. The two old people discoursed the matter, and came to this resolution, That the two young ones should have an interview, and see how they liked one another. Home comes the old man, and acquainted his nephew that he had pitched upon a wife for him, one of Mr. ———'s daughters, who were all of them virtuous young women, and every way suitable to his quality and circumstances; although their portions were but small, their father having met with many misfortunes, yet the virtues inherent in them rendered them equal to himself. The young man returned him abundance of thanks, and did not, in the least, question the prudence of his choice.

Now was the young man to have an interview with Mrs. Bride elect, and his uncle retired into consultation with himself, how to equip his nephew for that enterprise. At first, he determined to send to London to have him a new suit of cloaths made, that he might appear like a courtier; but, upon second thoughts, and to save his money, he told him, he could better provide for him at home; for, says he, you are

just of my size, and I have above stairs, in the press, all my wedding-cloaths, which were the best I could lay my hands on, both for the fineness of the cloth, and the silk lining. I am sure they are so good, that I never wore them above four or five times in all my life, and they are never the worse for wearing. I will assure thee, if I had not a great respect for thee, thou shouldest never have them. What sayest thou, child, wilt thou try them on? With all my heart, replied the young spark. Up goes the old man and brings them down; he puts them on, and they fitted exactly. The coat-sleeves were gloriously cut and slashed, small buttons on the coat, a little bigger than pease; the pockets about a handful below the knees, the breeches were open-kneed, a great deal wider than a Flanderkin's trousers, hung all around with abundance of little ribbons. The old gentleman asked him how he liked them? Very well, Sir, replies the spark. Now, says the old man, for a hat; I have a special beaver I bought along with these cloaths, which he also produced; it had a crown as high, and in form of a sugar-loaf, with brims as broad as a tea-table. The young gentleman thanked him heartily for it also. Now, says the old cuff, there is nothing wanting but a pair of boots, which I have by me, and which being brought, the young spark tried them on, and they fitted exactly; they were of a russet colour with white tops. Pray, says the old man, take great care of these boots, it is wet weather and may spoil them, therefore I would advise thee to twist some hay-bands about them for their security, and, when you come near the house, pull them off, and then they will be neat and clean as they were at my wedding. But one thing I had almost forgot, Hast thou got any thing? Not one penny, replied the spark. Well thought on, says the uncle, courtship is chargeable, here is half a crown, pray make good use of it. The young gentleman, thus equipped, looked like one of Queen Elisabeth's courtiers come from the dead, or, like snow on the grass and trees about midsummer; but what would one not undergo for a good wife or husband?

The young man gets up early the next morning, and having resumed his former accoutrements, and mounting on the outside of his uncle's best palfrey, away he trots in pursuit of his lady. You may be sure the people gazed, and the dogs barked sufficiently on the road at this human scarecrow on horseback; but the worst of it was, as he came within bow-shot of his mistress's tabernacle, the young lady was looking out at the window, and espying such a figure, she called her other two sisters, and told them that merry Andrew was coming, which put them into a great fit of laughter, till, approaching nearer, one of them cries out, It is Mr. ———'s nephew, and, knowing his business, they sent a man to take his horse, and their father and mother received him very genteelly at the door, and ushered him into the house.

But, as if Fate had ordained that the poor spark should be exposed in his antiquated habiliments, it so happened that day there was an invitation of gentlemen and ladies to dinner at the house. When dinner was ready and set on the table, the young spark was conducted from another room to the rest of the guests. No sooner had he set his foot on the threshold, but the eyes of the whole company were upon him; one sneared, another tittered, a third laughted outright, no body knowing

the meaning of this odd dress; so that indeed he was the scaramouch of the company. But by that time they had feasted their eyes on him, and filled their stomachs with the victuals, they found the spark was very modest and ingenious, and that his good humour and eloquence was more agreeable to their ears and minds, than his habit to their eyes; and, by his ogling one of the ladies more than the rest, they guessed at his design; and being unwilling to cramp love in its embryo, after dinner they all withdrew, and left that lady and the spark together.

The spark immediately takes the opportunity to apologise for his garb, and told her how necessary it was for him to please his uncle's humour in the thing, which, though it made him ridiculous to the company, he hoped would not lessen her esteem of his person: The young lady (who knew she was to marry the man, and not the cloaths) told him, it was not the garb she looked at, but she had more respect to his other accomplishments; and at this rate they went on in discourse of love and matrimony for about two hours.

The lady then thinking it uncivil any longer to withdraw herself, or detain the gentleman from the rest of the company, she desired him to go into the next apartment, and take a game at cards with the young ladies. The spark, knowing the weakness of his pocket, desired heartily to be excused; but, being pressed by one he could in no wise refuse, he was at last forced to give her the grand argument, by making known to her his Job's condition. She, understanding the humour of his uncle, guessed the money might as well be wanting as new cloaths, and she desired his patience for a minute or two, whilst she stepped out about a little business, which she did, and returns presently with a purse of five pounds, desiring him to make use of it. Upon which he waits upon her into the next room, where he played at cards with the rest of the company, sometimes won, sometimes lost, but always pleased the company to admiration; so that they all thought his mistress extremely happy in having so ingenious and good-humoured a lover, though in an antiquated dress.

To make short of my story, he tarried with his lady a full fortnight, and in that time got her consent, and the consent of her parents, and returns home to his uncle with this joyful news, which extremely pleased the old gentleman; but he took care to tell the old man, that, according to his own words, he had found indeed that courtship was chargeable, for that he had spent eighteen-pence of the half-crown he gave him, and, putting his hand in his pocket, he gave his uncle the remaining shilling. Well, child, says the uncle, I commend thy prudence and frugality, I find thou art to be trusted with money and any thing else, and therefore I will settle five-hundred a year upon thee in marriage; and giving him a good sum of money to buy him such wedding-cloaths as he should best like, the marriage was soon after solemnised to the satisfaction both of old and young. They were a happy pair, and the old man, dying some years after, left them the remainder of his estate, which made an addition to their happiness.

Politica. Truly, madam, the young gentleman was enough ingenious; had he been cross, and not pleased his uncle's humours, he would have been disinherited, though I must confess, it is hard to render our-

selves ridiculous to a degree of folly, to please an old humourist. But what is not sinful can never be shameful, and how unpleasant soever our actions are in the sight of men, if they are otherwise in the sight of God, it is no matter: A good estate and virtue make a man beautiful in any garb. I believe I could conform myself to the humours of the greatest caprichio, were I afterwards to be as happy as the young lady you have mentioned. We must all of us suffer some way or other in our pupillage: The apprentice serves out his time with chearfulness, in expectation of being his own man at the seven years end. Future ease is a great encouragement to present labour. But I know many young men and women are ruined by the unaccountable humours of their parents and governors, and take such wicked courses, that they are seldom or never reclaimed, especially women, who have once broken through the bounds of chastity. It is a common proverb amongst the men, that, 'Once a whore and always a whore.' Though I have known this proverb crossed; and, to level and make our stories even as we would do marriages, I shall give you an account after what manner:

A country gentleman, who was a justice of the peace in the county of R———, not having been in London in his life, or at least, not for a long time, being in conversation with some of his friends, heard them speak of the practice of lewd women, in picking men up in the streets. The gentleman, being a stranger to this abominable practice, could not believe any women could be so impudent, as they reported them to be; but they told him, he might experience the contrary any evening when he pleased. The gentleman was resolved to make the experiment, and one evening in Fleet-street he takes notice of a very pretty gentlewoman, which eyed him very narrowly, whereupon he asked her to drink a glass of wine; she agreed at the first word, and went with him to the next tavern.

When the gentleman and his doxy were seated in a room, and had some wine brought them, they drank very civilly one to the other; but miss expected to be attacked, after another sort of manner than she found by the gentleman: For he asked her, how long she had continued that trade; she told him, as they all do, but a very short time; then he continues, how can you dare to live in rebellion both against the laws of God and man, and impudently pursue methods to destroy both your body, and your immortal soul? In short, he read her such a lecture, that she, not being hardened in sin as are the generality of those miscreants, burst out into a flood of tears, and told him, that it was not without a wonderful remorse of conscience she followed that wicked course of life, and protested to him, that it was pure necessity obliged her to it, for otherwise she could not get a subsistence. The gentleman asked her further, how she came first to be debauched? She told him her father was a country gentleman, who had extravagantly spent a plentiful estate, and then dying, left her to the wide world unprovided for: She thought London was the best place to get her a livelihood in, and thither she came, but very unfortunately fell into the hands of a lewd woman, who betrayed her to the lust of a gentleman, who was no more than once concerned with her, and then advised her to ply the

streets; and, that he himself was the first person that ever had picked her up.

The gentleman told her, it was hard to believe persons who had been guilty of such heinous crimes, and very heartily admonished her to forsake her evil practices, to repent of what she had already done, and to amend her life for the future. She gave him many thanks for his good advice, and told him, she should think herself a very happy person, if either he, or any one else, would put her in a way to live otherwise. He told her, if she would resolve to amend for the future, he would take care to provide for her. She promised him, with all the asseverations imaginable, that she would: Whereupon he told her, that she should meet him the next day at a certain time and place; she coming according to appointment, he put her into a lodging he had provided, and, being well assured of her repentance and sincerity, and finding her an accomplished gentlewoman, soon after married her; and she made him a chaste and happy wife, and he lived as happily with her, as if she had been possessed of a portion of thousands of pounds.

Sophia. If I had here a bottle of wine, I would drink that gentleman's health; he, under God, saved the body and soul of that poor creature, and made a saint, by taking a sinner to his bed. I cannot chuse but reflect on our discourse, how naturally we have fallen from the discourse of matrimony, to love stories; we have talked away the time, as children cry themselves to sleep. But we must be gone, the sun is just down, and we shall be wanted at supper.

THE

SECRET HISTORY

OF THE

CALVES-HEAD CLUB:

OR, THE

REPUBLICAN UNMASKED:

Wherein is fully shewn the Religion of the Calves-Head heroes, in their anniversary thanksgiving-songs on the thirtieth of January, by them called Anthems, for the years 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697; now published to demonstrate the restless, implacable spirit of a certain party still among us, who are never to be satisfied, till the present establishment in church and state is subverted.

Discite justitiam moniti, & non temnere divos. VIRG.

London, printed, and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1703. Quarto, containing twenty-two pages.

THE PREFACE.

THE following collection has been so industriously handed up and down, where it was thought it would be well received, and confirm

those principles which too many have unhappily sucked in, and raise the confidence of those who were thought too bashful by their party, that some honest men have thought there could be no more effectual remedy for the mischief it might do, nor any surer way to stop the career than a publication: For, though many may presume, that, under the disguise of mirth, and the protection of a free conversation, they might safely venture to make an experiment how far the poison would work upon the undiscerning of untried constitutions, especially when rhime and musick were the vehicles, and 'under the rose' was the word; yet it is believed, when the malignity of the draught is publickly discovered, few will venture upon it without a sufficient antidote, and fewer have the hardiness to administer it.

These lines (for such ribaldry and trash deserve not the name of poems) were composed and set to musick for the use of the Calves-Head Club, which was erected by an impudent set of people, who have their feast of calves heads in several parts of the town, on the thirtieth of January, in derision of the day, and defiance of monarchy; at divers of which meetings the following compositions were sung, and, in affront to the church, called Anthems. These, which are here published, are said to have been written by Mr. Benjamin Bridgewater, and that he was largely rewarded by the members of the club for his pains. Whether Mr. Stevens was so well gratified for his sermons to the same tune, and on the same days, is more than the publisher dares say; but, perhaps, the pulpit was a bar to his pretensions, and the poet had been better rewarded than the preacher, had his sermons been put into rhime.

However, it is hoped, that this publication may give a check to the evil of the example, and destroy the continuance of the practice, or at least give fair warning, and take away the pretence of surprise from those who shall proceed to insult the government in so saucy and so villainous a manner.

But, whatever the success may be, the publisher doubts not but his intentions are justified, and wishes the effect may demonstrate the reasonableness of them, by putting an end to so unchristian and scandalous a practice.

IT is a prodigious thing to consider (and, for the honour of my native country, I wish I could say it was a false imputation upon her) that the execrable regicides of king Charles the First should find any advocates, or abettors, still among us.

I say, it is prodigious, that, after the whole nation, by their representatives in parliament assembled, has enacted so solemn a detestation of this unnatural parricide, and appointed a day of humiliation for it, to continue to all ages of the world, there should be such a set of boutefeus yet remaining, so impudently audacious, as to justify a crime, for

which the three kingdoms have smarted so severely; and, in their wicked merriment, to act over, as much as in them lies, that tragical scene, which has justly made us infamous in the remotest corners of the universe.

Was it not enough that a powerful prince, allied to most of the crowned heads in Christendom, was despoiled of that just authority, wherewith the laws of God and man had invested him, and, lastly, of his life, but that he must be most barbarously persecuted after his death, and suffer those indignities in his memory, when dead, which he had so plentifully suffered in his person, when living?

There is a time, when the most implacable malice is satiated, and exerts itself no longer. The most savage nations seldom, or never, carried their resentments beyond the grave; and thought it a piece of barbarous cowardice, to insult upon the ashes of those that could not speak for themselves.

But the royal martyr has been treated, if it is possible, with more inhumanity after his desolation, than he was exposed to when under the power of his rebellious subjects. He has not only been stigmatised by the odious name of tyrant, who was, in truth, the best and most merciful father of his country, and loaded with a thousand undeserved calumnies; but, what shews the restless malice of his adversaries, even that incomparable book of devotion, composed by him in his solitude, and the time of his deepest afflictions, and which no pen, but his own, could have written, has been adjudged from him by a late mercenary author; although it is certain to any man, at least, that can distinguish styles, that the person, to whom the republicans ascribe it, was no more capable of writing so excellent a piece, than the aforesaid compiler of Milton's Life, of writing an orthodox system of the mysteries of christianity.

Thus, as he was torn from his queen and children in his life, he was robbed, as far as it lay in the power of his malicious enemies, even of the legitimate issue of his brain: Tho' as truth, but especially truth injuriously oppressed, never wants some generous hands to defend its cause; so all the arguments that have been used by the republicans, to prove it a spurious piece, have been fully answered by a worthy † divine now living, beyond all possibility of a reply.

The barbarity of his enemies stopped not here; for, not content to have assassinated his person and reputation, they even dispossessed him of his sepulchre, a piece of cruelty, which none but thorough paced villains ever executed, for, when the ‡ long parliament had voted an honourable interment for their late prince, who had suffered so unjustly, all was stopped, by reason that the persons, ordered to regulate the ceremony, when they came to examine the royal coffin, found the body missing.

This puts me in mind of what a worthy gentleman, who travelled with my Lord A— into Italy, told me some years ago, viz. That, during his short stay at Bern in Switzerland, a syndic of the town, who

* See Toland's Life of Milton. † Dr. Wagstaff. ‡ See Dr. Nelson's Preface to the King's Trial.

used frequently to visit Major-General Ludlow, when he lived in those parts, assured him, that he had often heard Ludlow, in a vaunting manner, affirm, that, though Ireton and Cromwell were buried under Tyburn, yet, it was a comfort to him, that the royal martyr kept them company; for, says he, foreseeing that his son would undoubtedly come in, we took care that his father's body should not be idolatrously worshipped by the cavaliers; and therefore privately removed it to the place of common execution.

Whether the matter of fact, as Ludlow related it, be true or false, it is not material here to enquire; though I think nothing can give any honest man a juster and greater aversion to the libertines of that party, than to observe that their malice has no bounds, and that it neither spares the dead nor the living.

But, of all the indignities offered to the manes of this injured prince, nothing, in my opinion, comes up to the inhumanity and profaneness of the Calves-Head Club.

For my part, I was of opinion at first, that the story was purely contrived on purpose to render the republicans more odious than they deserved; for I could not imagine, how any men that pretended to be christians, or called themselves Englishmen, could calmly and sedately applaud an action, condemned not only by the word of God, but by the laws of the land, to which they pretend to pay so great a deference.

As for the regicides, who were actually concerned in this execrable tragedy, this may be said, however, in favour of them, if I may be allowed so to express myself towards criminals of that magnitude, that having gone so far in their wickedness, and given his majesty such insupportable provocations; and, what is more, measuring his clemency by their own, they concluded he could never forgive them; and, therefore, like Cataline, found themselves under the necessity of committing greater crimes, in order to cover themselves from what was past.

But what can be offered to extenuate the crime of these atheistical miscreants, who make that a matter of their lewd mirth, which the whole nation has, in the most solemn manner, ever since lamented, and, over their cups, applaud the most wicked action which the sun ever beheld?

For this reason, my good nature made me look upon it as a fiction upon the party, till happening, in the late reign, to be in the company of a certain active whig, who, in all other respects, was a man of probity enough; he assured me, that, to his knowledge, it was true; that he knew most of the members of that club, and that he had been often invited to their meetings, but that he had always avoided them; adding, that, according to the principles he was bred up in, he would have made no scruple to have met king Charles the First, in the field, and opposed him to the utmost of his power; but that, since he was dead, he had no further quarrel to him, and looked upon it as a cowardly piece of villainy, below any man of honour, to insult upon the memory of a prince, who had suffered enough in his life-time.

He farther told me, that Milton, and some other creatures of the commonwealth, had instituted this club, as he was informed, in oppo-

sition to Bishop Juxon, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, and other divines of the church of England, who met privately every thirtieth of January; and, though it was under the time of the usurpation, had compiled a private form of service for the day, not much different from what we now find in the liturgy.

That, after the restoration, the eyes of the government being upon the whole party, they were obliged to meet with a great deal of precaution; but now, says he (and this was the second year of king William's reign) they meet almost in a publick manner, and apprehend nothing.

By another gentleman, who, about eight years ago, went out of mere curiosity to see their club, and has since furnished me with the following papers, I was informed, that it was kept in no fixed house, but that they removed as they saw convenient; that the place they met in, when he was with them, was in a blind alley about Moorfields; that the company wholly consisted of independants and anabaptists (I am glad, for the honour of the Presbyterians, to set down this remark) that the famous Jerry White, formerly chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, who, no doubt of it, came to sanctify, with his pious exhortations, the ribaldry of the day, said grace; that, after the table-cloth was removed, the anniversary anthem, as they impiously called it, was sung, and a calf's skull, filled with wine or other liquor, and then a brimmer went about to the pious memory of those worthy patriots that had killed the tyrant, and delivered their country from his arbitrary sway; and, lastly, a collection made for the mercenary scribbler, to which every man contributed according to his zeal for the cause, or the ability of his purse.

I have taken care to set down what the gentleman told me, as faithfully as my memory would give me leave, and I am persuaded, that some persons that frequent the Black Boy in Newgate-street, as they knew the author of the following lines, so they know this account of the Calves-Head Club to be true.

Now I will appeal to any unprejudiced Englishman, whether such shameful assemblies ought not to be suppressed with the utmost diligence.

Let us consider them, either in relation to the christian religion we profess, or to common humanity and good manners, or, lastly, to the laws of the land, and they affront all equally.

Therefore, I hope the magistrates and others, whom it concerns, will take care, especially now, since they have the countenance of the government, to prohibit, as far as in them lies, and detect these wicked meetings, that the persons, there assembling, may be punished as they deserve.

Though no man abominates persecution more than myself, yet, I will venture to say, that a set of people, who wish the subversion of our ecclesiastical and civil establishment, as appears by the following papers, ought to expect no quarter from our hands.

Anniversary Anthem, 1693.

I.

ONCE more, my muse, resume thy chearful lyre,
Let this day's acts eternal thoughts inspire:
Let every smiling glass with mirth be crown'd,
While healths to England's native rights go round.
One such another day as this, alone,
Wou'd fully for a nation's sins atone.
'Tis a sure symptom that the people's bless'd,
When once a haughty tyrant's dispossess'd.
Chor. Apollo's pleas'd, and all the tuneful nine
Rejoice, and in the solemn chorus join.

II.

Again, my muse, immortal Brutus sing,
Whose daring sword expell'd a tyrant king:
Then bravely fought, and bravely overcame,
To give Rome freedom and eternal fame.
Such force has liberty, such conquering charms,
That the whole world submitted to their arms.
What wreaths shall we prepare, and how rehearse
His lasting worth in everlasting verse?
Chor. Apollo's pleas'd, &c.

III.

Triumphant laurels too must crown that head,
Whose righteous hand struck England's tyrant dead:
The heroes too, adorn'd with blood and sweat,
Who forc'd th' opposing monster to retreat.
Heaven still before a leading angel sent;
They conquer'd, 'cause they on his errand went.
Like th' Israelites of old, their chains they broke,
Guided by pillars, both of fire and smoke.
Chor. Apollo's pleas'd, &c.

IV.

'Tis force must pull a lawless tyrant down;
But give men knowledge, and the priest's undone.
When once the lurking poison is descry'd,
His juggling tricks are all in vain apply'd.
In vain he whines, in vain he cants and prays,
There's not a man believes one word he says:
* 'Tis true, religion is the grand pretence;
But power and wealth's the mythologick sense.
Chor. Apollo's pleas'd, &c.

* These two lines are almost verbatim stolen out of a copy of verses in the Stole Collection, Vol. I.

V.

Then fill the longing glass with sprightly wine,
Our cause is justice, and the health's divine.
The heroes smile, and our delights approve,
Which adds new joys to those they find above:
'Twas so they honour, so they conquest sought,
Thus fairly drank, and then as fairly fought.
They love to see us thus our homage pay,
And bless the just occasion of the day.
Chor. Apollo's pleas'd, &c.

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*Anniversary * Anthem*, 1694.

I.

THE storm is blown over, the tempest is past,
The tyrant is fallen, and is conquer'd at last.
Our fathers resolv'd it, and bravely 'twas done,
To save the whole kingdom by lopping the crown.
By her looks we discover'd the nation was pleas'd,
Her fears were all vanish'd, her troubles were eas'd;
Whilst we yearly commend an attempt so divine,
And applaud the just action with calves-head and wine.
Chorus.

II.

Thus Rome, when she suffer'd by seven † lewd kings,
That shackled her freedom, and pinion'd her wings,
Long time she sat mournful, as England had done,
And bow'd to the weight of a tyrannous throne;
Till, urg'd with new griefs, she for liberty cry'd,
And liberty round the glad eccho reply'd;
Whilst Brutus resolv'd to give Tarquin his doom,
And offer a king to the welfare of Rome.
Chorus.

III.

When by tyrant's endeavours the people are prest,
Let this noble example inspire every breast,
With the same resolutions to defend the good cause,
The subjects just rights, their religion and laws.
Then fill the calf's cranium to a health so divine,
The cause, the old cause, shall ennoble our wine;
Charge briskly around, fill it up, fill it full,
'Tis the last and best service of a tyrannick scull.

* This seems to be a parody of a song in the Innocent Adultery, called the Danger is over.
† Our author was an admirable historian, I find: This epithet of lewd can fit none of them but Tarquin; but all kings are alike criminal; i. e. they are kings.

IV.

Then, boys, let's drink a bumper, since their actions made us great,
Let us lay our trophies at their feet:
The cause gave courage to the soldiers, taught them how their foes to beat,
That alone cou'd free a captiv'd state.

V.

Then to puss, boys, to puss, boys,
Let's drink it off thus, boys,
As our fathers did, and the world shall us adore;
It's happier to die, boys,
Than in slavery to lie, boys;
Thus the heroes chose it, and bravely died before.

Anniversary Anthem, 1695.

I.

WHAT the devil means all this pother
On this day more than another?
See! the sot to church reels out;
See! the lecher leaves his whore;
The rogues, that never pray'd before,
Are grown most plaguily devout.

II.

Prithee, parson, why those faces,
Pious frowns, and damn'd grimaces?
Why so many creeds and * masses,
Collects, lessons, and the rest
Of the holy garbage drest?
Proper food for mumbling asses.

III.

Oh! Sir, it's a debt, they say,
Mother church must yearly pay
To her saint's canonisation:
It was the day, in which he fell
A martyr to the † 'cause of hell',
Justly crown'd with decollation.

VI.

Mirth for us, and generous wine;
Let the clergy cant and whine,

* The usual name, that these impudent sons of Belial bestow upon our holy liturgy. † See what virtuous principles these pretended saints are of! That call the King's heroick suffering for the laws of the land, the liberties of the people, the constitutions of parliaments, and the established church, falling for the 'cause of hell.' O execrable monsters!

Preach and prate about rebellion:
'No more ‡ beasts of kings, good heaven!'
Such as late in wrath were given,
Two curs'd tyrants, and a stallion.

V.

May the banish'd Tarquin's fate
Be as just, but not so great;
Some mean shameful death attend him:
May curs'd Lewis, for old scores,
Turn him poorly out of doors;
Then may some friendly halter end him.

An Anthem on the Thirtieth of January, 1696.

THERE was a king of Scottish race, a man of muckle might a,
Was never seen in battles great, but greatly he would sh——a:
This king begot another king, which made the nation sad a,
Was of the same religion, an atheist like his dad a.
This monarch wore a peaked beard, and seem'd a doughty hero,
As Dioclesian innocent, and merciful as Nero;
The church's darling implement, but scourge of all the people:
He swore he'd make each mother's son adore their idol steeple;
But they, perceiving his designs, grew plaguy shy and jealous,
And timely chopp'd his calves-head off, and sent him to his fellows.
Old † Rowly did succeed his dad, such a king was never seen a,
He'd lie with every nasty drab, but seldom with his queen a.
Restless and hot, he roll'd about the town from whore to whore a,
A merry monarch as e'er liv'd, yet scandalous and poor a.
His dogs at council-board wou'd sit, like judges in their furs a;
'Twas hard to say, which had most wit, the monarch, or his curs a.
At last he dy'd, we know not how, but most think by his brother;
His soul to royal Tophet went, to see his dad and mother.
The furious James usurp'd the throne, to pull religion down a;
But, by his wife and priest undone, he quickly lost his crown a.
To France the wand'ring monarch's trudg'd, in hopes relief to find a;
Which he is like to have from thence, even when the d——'s blind a.
Oh! how should we rejoice and pray, and never cease to sing a,
If ‡ bishops too were chac'd away, and banish'd with their king a?
Then peace and plenty would ensue, our bellies would be full a,
Th' enliven'd isle would laugh and smile, as in the days of Noll § a.

* A most admirable prayer! It is easy to nickname them beasts, and there is an end of them all. † A very fine character this of a merciful prince, who restored to us our ancient government and liberties! But this shews the gratitude of this faction. ‡ Thus we find, that the subversion of monarchy is not the only thing this party aims at, but likewise that of the hierarchy, which must expire both together; so that, though some writers in that reign thought fit to ridicule that saying of 'No King, no Bishop,' as absurd and inconsequential, yet our fathers lived to see it verified; and I heartily wish their posterities may never see the experiment made the second time. § The reader is desired to observe how inconsistently these libertines act with themselves, who can celebrate the bloody and calamitous reign of an * usurper, who trampled upon that very republick, of which they boast so much.'

An Anthem on the 30th of January, 1697.

1.

TOUCH, now touch, the tuneful lyre,
Make the joyful strings resound;
The victory's at last intire,
With the royal victim crown'd.

2.

The happy stroke did soon recover
What we long had sought in vain:
Thus Ariadne lost her lover,
But the gods reliev'd her pain.

3.

'Twas an action just and daring,
Nature smil'd at what they did,
When our fathers, nothing fearing,
Made the haughty tyrant bleed.

4.

They, their sons thus well obliging,
Taught us how this day to keep,
Who, by fighting, storming, sieging,
Laid the ravening wolf asleep.

5.

England long her wrongs sustaining,
Press'd beneath her burdens down,
Chose a set of heroes daring,
To chastise the haughty crown.

6.

Thus the Romans, whose beginning
From an equal right did spring,
Abhorring Romulus's sinning,
To the gods transferr'd their king.

7.

Let the * blackguard rail no further,
Nor blaspheme the righteous blow;
Nor miscall that justice murther,
Which made saint and martyr too.

* What religion these incendiaries are of, appears by their giving the loyal and orthodox sons of the best established church in the world such ignominious nicknames.

8.

They and we, this day observing,
Differ only in one thing;
They are canting, whining, starving;
We rejoicing, drink and sing.

9.

Advance the emblem of the action!
Fill the *CALF's SKULL* full of wine;
Drinking ne'er was counted faction,
* Men and Gods adore the vine.

10.

To the heroes gone before us,
Let's renew the flowing bowl,
Whilst the lustre of their glories
Shines like stars from pole to pole.

THE

METHOD OF CURING THE SMALL-POX,

First written in the Year 1704,

For the Use of the Noble and Honourable Family of March, by Dr. Arch. Pitcairn.

Folio, containing one page.

1. IF a child, or any person, grow sick, feverish, or has pain in the back, or slot of the breast, loss of appetite, drowsiness, short cough, sneezing, watery eyes, or some of these; but always accompanied with some heat, and frequent pulse or drought. In this case, blood is to be taken at the arm, or with loch-leeches; and, if the fever ceases not, though the pox appear, let blood a second or third time. Mean time, give the child a spoonful of syrup of white poppies at night, and in the night time, even till sleep or ease comes.

2. After the pox appears, and fever is gone, then steep a handful of sheep's purles in a large mutchkin of carduus-water, or hyssop-water,

* Admirable doctrine in the mouths of hypocrites, that pretend to so much sanctity!

or fountain-water, for five or six hours; then pour it off without straining, and sweeten it with syrup of red poppies. Give of this a spoonful or two, every fourth or fifth hour, to make the pox fill, and preserve the throat. Always at night time and in the night, give a spoonful or two of the syrup of white poppies for a cordial; that keeps down the fever, and keeps up the pox.

3. If the pox run together in the face (which is the only thing that brings hazard) use the infusion of the purles, and the syrup of white poppies, oftener than in other cases; also about the eighth day from the appearing of the pox, or a little before that, give the child to drink of barley-water, sweetened with syrup of white poppies; this will make the child spit, which saves the child.

4. The child's drink may be milk and water at other times, or emulsion, but use the first rather.

5. Apply nothing to the face.

Use no wine, or winish possets.

6. If any looseness comes before the fourth day of the eruption, stop it with syrup of poppies, and five or seven drops of liquid laudanum, given now and then till it be stopped.

Let the child's diet be all along a thin bread berry in the morning, a weak broth, and soft bread for dinner, and milk and bread at night, or sugar-bisket and milk; and, about the fifth day from the eruption, give the child groat-broth sometimes.

Nota, If, at any time, the small-pox disappear, with a raving before the fifth, sixth, or eighth day from the eruption, then let blood again, and apply a large blistering plaister between the shoulders, and give an emulsion.

2. If the small-pox fall down, without raving, then apply a large blistering plaister between the shoulders, and give an emulsion; and boil in a gill of water, and as much white or red wine, half a dram or a dram of zedoary-root sliced, two figs, and two scruples of theriac or diascordium; sweeten it with syrup of kermes and white poppies, each half an ounce.

3. In the end of the disease, that is, about the tenth, eleventh, fourteenth, &c. day, after the eruption; if the child's defluxion is gross, either apply a new vesicatory, or give often the spirit of hartshorn, in syrup of violets, or a vomitor.

Lastly, When the pox is blackened sufficiently, or about the fourteenth day from the eruption, let the child drink whey, eat pottage, &c. or broth with prunes, unless the child's belly is open enough of itself.

But if the child is so young, or unlucky, as not to cough heartily, and force up the defluxion, or if the frost thickens it; apply to the slot of his breast a poultise of theriac, diascordium, alkermes, oil of rosemary, and cinnamon with warm claret, in a double linnen cloth often.

2. And to the throat apply, in a double linnen cloth, a poultise of cow's dung boiled with milk and soft white bread. Put a little brandy to as much as you apply at a time.

3. For the defluxion also give inwardly some of this, which has a dram of sperma-ceti, well mixed in a glass-mortar (not a brass one) with fine sugar; to which add at leisure syrup of violets, or balsamick, or poppy syrup, with some spirit of hartshorn.

If the pox was confluent, or run together on the face, then, after the person is recovered, give a purgative, to bring away the remainder of the pox within the guts.

A GOOD EXPEDIENT

FOR

INNOCENCE AND PEACE.

Being an Essay concerning the great Usefulness and Advantage of laying aside publick Oaths.

Edinburgh, printed by Mr. Andrew Symson, 1704. Quarto, containing sixteen pages.

IT is agreed to on all hands, that nothing does so much contribute to the ruin of kingdoms and societies, as the abounding of vice and immorality. Wickedness, where it becomes outrageous, challenges heaven to vindicate its own authority, and arms God for vengeance against a people; and the more spreading and universal it grows, the greater mass of wrath is thence treasured up, and destruction thereby the more infallibly ascertained. And then, What overflowing inundations of fury may justly be apprehended beyond whatever this poor land has hitherto smarted by, from those monstrous heights of gigantick vice, which has swelled to degrees, that scarcely our very fears could have probably suggested? Witness all sorts of the most licentious villainies, that refuse to know any bounds or restraints! We have now beheld atheism so bold, that it no more skulks in corners, but outfaces the sun and men. We have lived to see religion openly scoffed down, and exposed as the only befitting quality of the more flegmatick melancholy kind of people; swearing and drunkenness the genteel fashionable form of behaviour; lust and whoredom the ordinary topicks of discourse; adultery, and viler uncleanness, brought to be the mode: perfidy and murder authorised. Finally, A contempt of all that is sacred and serious; and then it can be no wonder if we shall find iniquity become our ruin.

And now, that matters are brought to so dreadful, so desperate an issue, the land groaning under such an intolerable load of sins and calamities; What man is so hard-hearted, so regardless of God, so unconcerned for the publick good of his native country, so void of all sense of his own, and his neighbour's danger, in their highest and dearest concerns, as will not contribute the utmost that in him lies, to put the most effectual stop to these common national sins, that otherwise will make the kindlings of the divine anger break out and consume all?

Did we live in an age that shewed any tolerable measure of respect to the divine laws, it might be hoped, that whatever were made to appear to be sinful, should instantly be abandoned; whatever were understood to be a crime, would be accordingly avoided; and then the plain detecting a vice would go a great way towards its cure; but so far is it otherwise, that most men seem so utterly to have divested themselves of all fear of God, that they can defy their own convictions, charge through all kinds of sins, and own no further difference of good and evil, than their present wordly interests, or viler appetites suggest, or prompt them to; and then, What success can be promised from any attempt for our cure?

But yet no wickedness, how general soever, ought to supersede endeavours of a recovery; but the more prevalent and universal vice grows, the more strenuous labours should be employed to controul it.

It is, sure, one of the best offices a person can undertake, in days of general backsliding, to draw the notorious reigning sins of the land in their just colours, to paint them in their true and horrid shapes, that men, by beholding the natural ugliness and deformity of them, and by considering what they will end in, may be cautioned to forsake them, and so may flee from the wrath to come.

It were a vast work to attack all; I shall single out one of the first magnitude, viz. the swearing of inconsistent oaths; which, I presume, will, by all, be confessed to be an impiety of the greatest size, and to have a most powerful energy in drawing on all those woes and calamities we have been so deeply plunged into.

It will be readily acknowledged by all the wrangling factions amongst us, that the land has been involved in no less than the horrid guilt of perjury; as, indeed, where there has been so much swearing and counterswearing, How could it possibly escape? Every new turn of affairs must be accompanied with new modelled oaths, adapted to the circumstances of the prevailing party, right or wrong; and then all must to pot, who cannot swear and sign these, how flatly soever contradictory to those others that preceded them, without the least regard paid to the former obligations, though as solemn as any latter that can be substituted in their room. I need not give instances; the Solemn League, and Declaration, the Tender, the Test, &c. are too notorious pregnant instances to be denied: And the crime, upon an ordinary examination of the terms, thence too apparent: than which there can be no higher contempt put upon the tremendous majesty of God, nor any wickedness which raises a louder cry at the tribunal of heaven for vengeance. And if men can once be habituated to, and harden themselves in such courses, there is an end of all that is holy and heavenly, tender

and apprehensive in human nature, and all those storms and tempests of the divine indignation to be expected which result from the justice of an affronted, sin-revenging God.

Now, Can there be any man so devoted to all that is execrable and accursed, such a lover of mischief, as that he would not heartily wish for a proper remedy of so great an evil? And here it may be proposed to consideration, What might be the most expedient mean, to prevent such gross commissions in this particular, as if, not obviated, must needs overwhelm and confound all, sink and ruin the nation and ourselves? And whether, considering that faith has so sensibly failed from amongst men, it were not, at present, adviseable, for saving the land from farther heights of sin, and so to ward off the most formidable judgments, that otherwise threaten us; whether, I say, considering these things, it were not adviseable to forbear the imposing of those customary obligations, and to dispense with all publick oaths, the swearing of which, in the present depravation of men's manners, can afford no possible security to the publick, but only tend to inflame our guilts, and more highly to incense God to pour out his fiercest anger upon us.

It cannot, indeed, be denied, but that the custom of binding subjects, by oaths of allegiance, to the supreme powers, hath been very universal, and spread itself, far and nigh, all the world over. It was ever judged reasonable to provide the most effectually for the common safety, and to guard most carefully against all disturbance of the publick peace and tranquillity; and to make sure of this, nothing was so promising, as to put men under the most sacred ties of restraint; that having invoked God judge and avenger, they might be kept from whatever tended to embroil or confound affairs; that, however any bold incendiaries might hope for impunity from human power, they might still be awed by the unconquerable dread of the omnipotent justice, that would unavoidably pursue the violation of their holy vows. But then, all this was to suppose, that men made conscience of performing what they had undertaken, and were heartily resolved, with an unshaken constancy, inviolably on all hazards, to stand by what they had so solemnly engaged to, as they should answer to God on the contrary. But now, that there has such degeneracy and corruption of manners sprung up amongst us, and there seem to be no longer any impressions of religion or morality left on the minds of men, but they can as easily burst asunder all the most sacred bonds of allegiance, as if they were only threads of cobweb; no other fruit of their oaths being discernible, but the horrid guilt of breaking them. While matters are brought to this pass, it ought sadly to be laid to heart, Whether, out of pure respect to the honour of God, and holy reverence to his name, it be not the far safer course to lay aside the imposing, or swearing of these oaths, which do so notoriously tend to the farther debauching of men's minds, and searing their consciences? And to incline men to favour this overture, these few obvious considerations may be briefly insisted on:

I. That no party sooner gets the ascendant over their opponents, but

their utmost invention is stretched, all art employed to secure themselves in the possession of what, it may be, only their force and violence has wrested, and quite to suppress and bear down all that cannot justify their proceedings, and applaud, like enough, the groundless fictions of their distempered brains; and then oaths must be devised with particular respect to their own, and their adversaries tenets, that such as have different sentiments of matters from them, may be brought either to disclaim what they have formerly professed to believe, or exposed to all the hardships and calamities, that their persecuting insulting foes have the power to inflict upon them. And these obligations being countenanced by the authority in being, at the time when they are imposed, are cried up by all the abettors thereof, as religious and necessary, and all that refuse them, branded with the most odious names their spite can load them with. And though nothing be less intended than the welfare of the community, or the advancement of religion; yea, let religion suffer the most mortal wounds their artifices can give her, and the strengthening the faction be the only aim of their contrivances; yet, O profane mockery! God is intitled to the faction, their fiery violence is christened zeal, and the standing or falling of religion must straight be made to depend on the interest they have espoused; and he that comes short of their bitter fury is lukewarm, and all non-compliance is downright enmity to the gospel. And then their way being necessary, nothing less can suffice, than the interposing the most solemn oaths to support and perpetuate the cause; but when the fulsome hypocrisy becomes abominable, and God, for the transgressions of a land, or in pity to the miseries of it, sends another change; no sooner is the scene shifted, but, as the sure concomitant of that, there succeeds a new revolution of oaths, and these again framed in the plainest contradictory terms to those that went before; so as, to be sure, the former shall be openly abjured by the latter; and when the oppressed get from under the rod of their persecutors, they reckon the severest treatment they can repay, but a just retaliation; their resentments grow more stubborn than can be easily appeased, and the heap of injuries they have sustained is too great for all their charity to pardon. Thus, as the scales turn, there is nothing but swearing backward and forward; and what we are now required to abjure, shall, by the next change of affairs, be imposed as indispensable necessary duty. Now I would desire any sober man, in God's name, to tell me, Whether he thinks there can be a more dreadful sin than such a desultorious playing with oaths? What greater contempt can possibly be put upon the glorious majesty of God? What can more expose the gravity and wisdom, the piety and probity of the nation? Or prepare sadder plagues, and a more certain intolerable ruin? Sure I am, such as have the power in their hands to prevent so great an evil, are concerned to lay it sadly to heart; for they that can hinder a sin, and do it not, are highly accountable to God for it. And in this respect it may seem reasonable to dispense with oaths. Especially if we farther,

II. Consider, what small reckoning men have now unhappily learned to make of them. Publick bonds for money, and publick oaths, are reputed mere matters of form, that lay no obligation upon the con-

science; and there are but a few that judge themselves any longer bound by them, than a fair occasion offers of emancipating them. Whatever the importance of their most solemn promises have been, they make no difficulty, on the first temptation, of engaging themselves to the other side of the contradiction. A guilt this is, of such an atrocious nature, as must needs utterly lay waste the conscience, and render it insensible and callous. It is not the opinions we take up, that can alter the nature of our duty. The heinousness of perjury is nothing abated by the stubborn confidence of our fancies. The divine sanctions cannot be altered by any power of our imaginations; all our belief can have no efficacy toward the making that venial, which God has made damning. Sin will retain its native venom, its own proper deadly nature, whatever slight perfunctory notions we force ourselves to entertain concerning it. Would men, therefore, summon up their serious attention, and in God's fear deliberately weigh what is to be done. It is fairly supposeable, they would utterly abolish a practice, whereby, because of men's wild mistaken notions, they do unwarily deceive their own souls, and most palpably provoke and dishonour that all powerful and just judge, to whom vengeance doth belong. It is proper here to remember, that the swearing pro and con, in the contests, betwixt the houses of York and Lancaster, was so heinous a transgression, as could, it seems, be expiated by no less sacrifice, than of a hundred-thousand lives; for no fewer were slain, in that quarrel.

III. Let it be considered, that these oaths are a plain force and violence to most, even of those that swear them. Some men, for worldly advantage, are tempted to take them, though with reluctant consciences. A great many stand condemned by the sentence of their own hearts, in the very moment of the solemnity. Interest is the great deity, that has by far the most votaries; there is nothing so hazardous, which the prospect of gain will not make men adventure on; there are but few such virtuous souls, as are able to resist a temptation of getting. For a piece of money, one will struggle hard with, and worst his own conscience, and defy present convictions, in the very instant of his grossest commissions. And then it is obvious, that the annexing oaths, to lucrative places, is one of the most dangerous snares possible. Profit is a bait, that will make any hook be swallowed down. Now sure, hereby comes evil, that all the benefit, that can be pretended on the other side, can never preponderate.

IV. Add, as an unavoidable consequent of this, the unspeakable damage, that accrues to the publick, by the frequent revolutions and interfering of oaths; for, by this means, the best and most useful men are often kept back from places of trust, and such thrust in, as are the plague and reproach of mankind. He that regards God and himself fears an oath, and will not swear any thing, but what he is fully satisfied does plainly consist with his strict duty, and all the former obligations, that have, at any time, passed upon him. Thence he is barred those stations, wherein he might be a blessing to his country. Whereas, on the other hand, the vicious man, that by his lewd conversation has numbed and stifled his conscience, and blotted out all sense of virtue in his soul, will boggle at nothing; but, at all rates, will climb up to

these posts of advantage or authority, that his covetousness or ambition beckon him to. Let him have money and honour, and he shall never enquire on what terms he comes by them! And what is to be expected from the advancing such to rule and dignity? Will they respect equity, or faithfully administer justice? Will they dispense the law with candor, and equally maintain truth, between man and man? Nay, Will they not notoriously pervert judgment, and have their eyes blinded with bribes? And make the saddest jumble and medley of affairs, from which nothing, but general confusion and mischief, shall ensue? For, when the wicked bear rule, the city mourneth; and the most dreadful comets do not so certainly presage future calamities, as the preferring vicious men to places of eminence and government. And yet this mischief is caused by nothing more visibly, than the frequent varying the terms of getting into employment, which is a grievance, that calls loudly for redress.

V. Another mischief of vast consideration, that the imposing of oaths effects, is, that they do exceedingly tend to the farther widening of these woeful differences, already, far too notorious; when the prejudices of discording parties are heightened by the intervention of an oath, What hope is there left remaining of the possibility of a reconciliation? This fixes a μέγα χάσμα, an unpassible gulf between them; and the breaches, that might have been cemented before, are hereby rendered irreparable. This is a compendious way to shut the door against all peace, and to make our wranglings and contentions endless: Even the more moderate and cooler tempers are hereby inflamed to the heighth of bigotry; and their alienations wax so inveterate, that they can no longer listen to any proposals of a pacification. So that it may, with great probability, be averred, that it is the bandying of oaths to and fro, to which we owe all the bitter contests, that have been managed with such implacable hatred; it may confidently be affirmed, they had, at least, otherways never been so fierce. For, with whatever indifference, persons may respect the opposite parties, before they be engaged: yet when once they are drawn in, by a solemn stipulation, the support of the faction is made the object of their zeal, and it stands them on their reputation, to assert the necessity, just or unjust, of what they are sworn to maintain. And then, at all rates, down with their adversaries; and nothing, short of slaughter and destruction, is breathed out against all that shall dare to question the certainty of the articles they have embraced, however doubtful these propositions sometimes appeared to themselves. And then, What more seasonable charity, than to abstract the foment from these accursed divisions, by prohibiting those oaths, that add fuel to our flames, and perpetuate our janglings? For so it might be hoped, that, in a little time, our unnatural heats would die out, and more of mutual forbearance and brotherly kindness should spring up amongst us; our animosities would gradually decay, when so great a cause of distinction were removed; and men, by becoming more disinterested, would be more impartial in their disquisitions for truth: and, prejudices being laid aside, they would, with greater freedom of spirit, embrace that, wherever they found it. Thus, the mists of error might be dispelled and vanish; and that pure and un-

defiled religion, which is peaceable, full of mercy, and good fruits, and without partiality, should shine in its true glory; and our Zion might yet rise in her native beauty and splendor, become a peaceable and prosperous habitation, the joy and praise of the whole earth. Let me here but briefly mention, that these distinguishing oaths do often make fatal rebounds upon the authors of them. Amilcar made Hannibal swear at the altar of his Gods, that he should never make peace with the Romans; and his wars, at last, terminated in the final overthrow, the utter excision of Carthage.

VI. The dispensing with publick oaths would go a wonderous incredible length, towards the removing of those commotions and disturbances, that are of such pernicious consequence to human societies, and to instate us in the blissful possession of the profoundest peace. There can be no greater security to any government, than its being easy and gentle; this takes off the asperity of men's minds, drives out whatever grudges, and cuts off all pretensions for sullen murmurs and complaints. It has a sweet force, sufficient to conquer any resistance, to reconcile all tractable generous tempers, and carries a power in it able to charm the most obstinate. When there is nothing left for men to object, What fears or jealousies can be entertained of plots or conspiracies, to undermine that settlement, that every body enjoys such desired contentment under? It creates mutual confidence and assurance in rulers and people, and, of all things, does the most to make the one quiet, and the other safe; whereas rigorous harsh impositions make the spirits ferment, and beget corrupt humours, that do break out into dangerous eruptions in the body politick, and hurl the world into confusions; the depraved infirm flesh shrinks under what is afflictive, has aversions to the cross, and can with difficulty be induced, by all the rhetorick of heaven, either to take it up, or bear it; when it is loaded with what is grievous, it frets and storms, and is apt to stick at nothing that may disburden it. Ill blood can hardly, by any means, be sweetened, and, where choler predominates, no authority of any laws, divine or human, can repress it. Now all ground of such dangerous discontent is taken off, by forbearing whatever can be judged severe, by laying aside such discriminating tests, as factious seditious men make occasions of disquieting the world; and, were every such thing dispensed with, this mild usage could not but shame men into good-nature; and a peaceable disposition, and a happy deliverance from all tumults and molestations, must needs be the certain consequent of not leaving men the least shadow of a foundation to quarrel on.

Were these few things seriously pondered, and sincere honest designs of advancing religion and virtue entertained in the breasts of men, it might, with some confidence, be hoped, that they would chearfully concur to remove what is attended with such manifest inconveniences, and, by the disuse of which, so many signal advantages should be obtained. What rank of men is he to be numbered in, who will needs pertinaciously adhere to what he plainly observes to be the source and origin of so many woeful guilts and calamities? Doth he fear God, or love virtue, who would not banish away what, he must needs know,

God does hate, and will punish? And who is he, who, under a lively sense of the divine justice and holiness, dares think of patronising the custom of swearing contrary oaths, whereby the omnipotent God is most grievously offended, and which ripens for the most frightful destruction, and for which God's judgments are already so visibly abroad in the earth? Has he any zeal for the honour of God, who is not concerned for the profane contempt cast upon his holy name? Doth he wish the thriving and prosperity of the publick, that would not prevent the occasion of a sin, that must needs undo and ruin it? Would to God I were able to say any thing on this head, that might awake and call up men's thoughts, rouse their attentions, and set them in earnest a thinking, as under the all-seeing eye of God, whether what has been said deserves any regard from them; and what every one's bound duty may require from him, in his several station and capacity. Would men be so just to their Maker, so kind to themselves, as to be persuaded to compare the advantages and disadvantages of either side, and to chuse the good and refuse the evil, one might promise soon to hear it become the general cry, the common supplication, 'No more swearing! No more publick oaths!' that, by their interfering, must needs be, of all things on earth, the most full of terror, the most full of guilt and danger.

But whatever the advantages, the complying with the design of this attempt might be attended with, it is not to be doubted, but it will meet with fierce enough opposition (as indeed all healing overtures have ordinarily the fate to be treated with the bitterest spite and contradiction) and, upon various accounts, may have black enough colours laid upon it.

Some will be enemies to it, from the apprehension of the private loss and damage that themselves in particular might sustain, by the succeeding of any such proposal. This might possibly, they will think, make changes, and so they, who are in the present enjoyment of any gainful posts, might be disseized, and others made to reap the profits; and therefore such, no doubt, will furiously malign and resist. But, if they be virtuous persons, and demean themselves as men of merit and sufficiency for the trust they enjoy, there is no reason for them to set themselves, on this account, against what might be of good use to the community, for nothing could more secure men of worth and merit; but, if they be of another stamp, it were a general blessing to have them removed; and one of the greatest benefits, such an alteration should effect, would be the turning out vicious, insufficient, and scandalous men; And what harm could come by their fall? But, whatever endeavours any persons, on such accounts, may use, to oppose a publick good, it ought not to be neglected, to gratify the ambition or covetousness of private men; for woe to that self-seeking, that wishes to thrive upon the publick ruin.

But others will be ready vehemently to exclaim against any such dispensation, as being injurious to the supreme power; it being highly reasonable that all fullest assurance should be taken of the subject, for the preservation and security of the government; And how shall any sovereign expect fidelity, where it is not faithfully promised? This is, I confess, the most material plea that can be opposed to what is now

reasoned for; and truly, if the safety of the government could be sufficiently provided for, and obtain any sure warrandice from men's vowing fealty, it might appear a crime to lift a lip against, or return any answer to this objection; it being most just that they should, in the name of God, engage not only not to do them harm themselves, but take all possible care, and use their utmost, most faithful endeavours, that none should be done them by others; but then, what they so undertake, they ought to adhere to, to their lives end. But, alas! when nothing is effectuated by any such means, when daily experience conviceth us, that all this produces nothing but the blackest, most dire guilt, what ground in the world is there to require or impose oaths, that men make no conscience of observing; and which only tend to profane the dreadful name of God, to contemn and provoke the divine Majesty, and to treasure up a greater stock of wrath against the land? For, in a few words, it may be made plain, to a demonstration, that, in the present corruption of the world, publick oaths are absolutely of no benefit, or use imaginable: For he, whose principles or interest bind him to a party, or establishment, will be stedfast thereto, without the intervention of an oath. But, if a man swears against his principles and interest, no such tie will bind him; ten thousand such oaths shall never hold him fast, nor does he think himself obliged to continue firm to them: but, on the contrary, the grating sense of what he judges himself to have trespassed in will powerfully draw, and move him to make the best reparation he is able, for the wrong step he has taken; whence, it evidently appears wholly vain to expect any security to the publick, by the interposition of oaths.

But the most implacable enmity will arise, from those who are of that envious temper, as to grudge the least ease to tender consciences. This, it is true, is of so black a dye, and speaks such a hellish disposition, as will find few or none, that will make open profession of it; for this were barefacedly to vouch themselves cruel persecutors. But yet it is shrewdly to be suspected, there are not wanting men of that malevolent nature, as would find a torment in any favour granted to those whom they bear no kindness to, and take a particular complacency in whatever may afflict or ensnare them, than which there can be no quality more contrary to the spirit of christianity; for this is to please one's self with that which is the satisfaction of the devils, who are delighted with the miseries and ruins of men; and the nearest resemblance, and most lively portraiture of a devil, is an invidious nature, that wishes, or contrives what is hurtful and prejudicial to another. And then, wherever any thing of this spirit is discernible (as, alas! a very superficial scrutiny may too easily discover it) all that have learned Christ must own themselves bound to controul it.

I cannot foresee any thing farther, worth noticing, that this overture can be charged with; and, therefore, would men, without biass, apply themselves to spend some serious thoughts about it, it is hardly to be supposed it could meet with any resistance from sober, pious, and well-disposed persons; for, Is there not a God and is not he the avenger of sin? And can any man, who believes his being, reckon it indifferent,

whether his great and dreadful name be reverenced or blasphemed? and, doth not the religious observance, or profane violation of our promissory oaths amount to all this? For, let any impartial man narrowly examine the importance of those diversified oaths that have been imposed, and let him try this act of reconciling the terms if he can; and, by the time that he has a while employed his thoughts, as in God's presence, about them, he may come to conceive a difference betwixt him that sweareth, and him that feareth an oath. The very heathens had always the greatest tenderness and regard for their oaths, whereof abundant instances might be given: And shall they seem to lose their sacredness amongst those who are called Christians? God forbid! and yet, what esteem can he be thought to hold them in, who swears incompatible inconsistent things? What can it be to take the name of the Lord in vain, if this be not it? And is not it a frightful impiety, first to take them, and then to break them? And what must it needs be to require, to urge, and force them? That is what may exact men's most attentive consideration; every one, who has a due care of his soul, will be studious to examine himself in this? Men will find it dreadful, appearing before Christ's tribunal, to answer, not only for their own personal sins, but for the guilts of others which they have caused. And, if there was any specifick kind of sin, which I did more especially dread the danger of, that I were to put up my most earnest suit to God, to be kept from, as being of the most atrocious provoking nature; I think I should not much mistake in my condescensions, if my most hearty prayer, when I shall at last stand before the dread judgment seat of Christ, were, 'O God, I pray more particularly, that I never be found guilty of the most horrid sin of perjury.' Think what the character of a perjured person is, in the common verdict of mankind, and even in the estimate of our own laws! And is the sin so black and scandalous, when it is personal; and is it less so, when it is national? No, certainly it is not; for it is such a most formidable piece of wickedness, such a horrid crime, a piaculum, as may well be judged to forfeit the divine protection, and leave a people and nation, guilty of it, open to all the rage and malice of the devil, to be hurried on by him, at his pleasure, from sin to sin, till they fill up the measure of their iniquity, and the wrath of God come upon them to the uttermost; and therefore, to this purpose, most applicable is the admonition of St. James, wherewith I shall conclude, "but, above all things, my brethren, swear not."

THE

DECLARATION

OF THE MOST CHRISTIAN

KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE,

Against the most horrid Proceedings of a rebellious Party of Parliament-men and Soldiers in England, against their King and Country. Translated out of French by P. B.

Lewis the Fourteenth, by the Grace of God, the most Christian King of France and Navarre, to all Christian Kings, Princes, States, and People sendeth greeting.

WHEREAS we are informed, by our dear aunt, the queen of England, of the distressed estate of the king her husband, forced upon him by a rebellious party of his meanest subjects, under the command of the Baron of Fairfax, who is likewise countenanced by a small handful of the basest of the people, crept into the lower house of parliament, but not being a tenth part thereof, the worthiest being either imprisoned, or banished by the tyranny of the army, have a design to proceed against the person and life of their king; which is an action so detestable, and so destructive to the national rights of princes and people, who are like to be enslaved thereby, and to know no law, but that of the sword, that we conceive ourself obliged, by the laws of God and man, in the duty of a christian, as well as the rights of a king, either to redeem from bondage the injured person of our neighbour king and uncle, or to revenge all outrages already done, or hereafter which may happen to be done thereupon.

Therefore, with the advice of our dear mother the queen-regent, and council, we do publish and declare our detestation of all such proceedings, and vow, in the presence of God and his holy angels, a full revenge upon all actors or abettors of this odious design, to the utter extirpation of them, their wives, and children out of all parts of Christendom, wherein our power, or interest, can prevail, if they proceed to this damnable fact; we conceiving it fit to root out from human society such a spurious and viperous generation of men: And we do therefore prohibit all such persons, their wives, and children to come into any of our dominions, unless they will be proceeded against, as traitors to God and nations.

And we do likewise invite all our neighbour kings, princes, and states in amity with us, or with whom we have any difference, to an honourable peace, that we may all join, in God's cause and our own, to re-

venge these hypocritical proceedings of enraged villains, who, we hear, take the cause of God for their pretence to destroy his ordinance.

And we desire all our neighbour kings, princes, and states to make the same proclamation, we have done, against any of these, or their adherents, from coming into their territories; that, when, by God's justice, and ours and others endeavours, they shall be chaced out of their native country, they may wander like vagabonds, in heathenish places, with the odious brands of regicides upon them: And further to consider, whether that, if the like madness took any of their armies, they would not implore our helps, as now this afflicted queen and aunt of ours hath occasion to do theirs, against persons who are now twice rebels; first, against their lawful sovereign, upon pretence of reformation of government; and, now, against the very men and authority, which raised them for that pretended occasion: Wherein God's justice is so apparent, that we are confident he will bless this work intended by us, and which, we hope, will be seconded by all persons of honour and justice, both at home and abroad, to help to suppress these rebels against their raisers; who yet presume, upon the success of their arms, to erect their own base thoughts and fortunes above the limits of religion or reason, to suppress that authority which God hath set over them.

Signed, LEWIS.

And below, BRYAN, Secretary of State.

Published at Paris, the second day of January, Stylo novo, 1649.

SOME

REASONS FOR AN ANNUAL PARLIAMENT,

AS THE BEST

SECURITY FOR ENGLISH RIGHTS.

Together with the Qualifications required in a good Member of Parliament. Offered to the Consideration of all Electors of Parliament-Men.

Quarto, containing eight Pages.

SIR,

I SUPPOSE nobody has forgot, that, at the beginning of the revolution, in the act which was made for declaring the rights of the sub-

ject, after the grievances reckoned up, it says, That for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the law, parliaments ought to be held frequently, which must mean frequent parliaments, and not frequent sessions of the same parliament or our constitution is but little amended by that act. Our ancestors understood the necessity and wisdom of having frequent parliaments. Alfred, as you may see in the Mirrour of Justice, chap. i. sect. 3. ordained, that the parliament should meet every year twice, or oftener, if need were. There are many statutes in Edward the Third's time, that a parliament should be held once a year, and oftener, if need be. That act is no less than three times reiterated in his reign. Acts of the same import are made in Richard the Second's; and these acts were made when prorogations, and long continuances of the same parliaments, were not in use. Henry the Sixth's reign was the first in which prorogations began at all to be made for any time, and they were but very little used 'till Henry the Eighth's time. But the usual way formerly was to call a parliament, at least once a year, and, as soon as their business was done, to dissolve them. They adjourned themselves for some short time, but the king did not prorogue at pleasure. That this was the constant practice, I appeal to the parliament rolls; but I do not so much doat upon antiquity, as to desire to revive that practice, unless I can prove it reasonable and advantageous. I think it is very much so in the present juncture. I cannot be unknown to K. W. how much he has been libelled, because so many of his officers were in the house. Those, that wish him ill, have hit the blot: But it has disgraced him with those that wish him well. It is fit the king should chuse whomsoever he thinks fit to serve him in his employments; but it will be a matter of scandal, if the people think their representatives are bought off, whether by places, or pensions. But, if they are chosen annually, it will not easily be believed, that an unfair bargain can be struck with them. Our taxes will be less heavy, whilst we think our representative assessors pay their proportion. How just the clamours and suspicions of mankind are, I do not determine, but I know they are great, and by every body, and every where believed, and that by this course they would be avoided. If the accusations are well grounded, if votes are purchased by places, or most of the members should be more than ten times reimbursed their own shares of the publick payments; then indeed the safety, and very being, of our constitution would be struck at, our fundamentals would be debauched, our house of commons would become a parliament of Paris, to do as the court would have them, and nothing but what they direct; Scotch lords of the articles would be, as it were, introduced by a court cabal; and membership would become a preferment for life, &c. But whatever the malicious say, I am not willing to believe these things have of late, or will be attempted. I am only desirous that it should be made apparent for the future, in every parliament that sits, that there is no likelihood that it is debauched, and that will be made apparent by annual parliaments. But, to lay aside the peculiarity of our present case, let me treat of it under a general consideration. And I will endeavour to shew the expediency of annual parliaments; and that I shall endeavour to make good by the nature of

parliaments, and of their delegations; by which it appears, that the members are delegated by their electors, to supply their places, in advising, treating, consulting, and determining upon the great and important affairs of the nation, which appear, and are upon the stage, in that juncture wherein the parliament is summoned. When such a parliament is continued longer than answers the present occasion for which they were summoned, great inconveniences may, and are likely to follow. A man may be fit to represent me in one juncture, whom I might very reasonably judge unfit to do it in another. A man may be qualified to advise, consult, and determine about the improvement of trade, and the manufactures of the nation; and yet may be unfit to offer advice in the great affairs of peace and war. A man may have knowledge enough to act in such matters, who may want integrity, faithfully to represent, and procure redress for grievances, which will be springing up in any government. When parliaments are annually chosen, we can chuse our representatives, with an eye to the present circumstances of affairs, and the present exigencies of the nation. But, when the same parliaments are continued upon us, we are put upon the unreasonable task, of prophetically chusing men fit to represent us amidst the unforeseen and unexpected accidents and affairs which may fall in, so long as the prince and his ministers think fit to continue the parliament then summoned. Besides, when the business of the nation has been, as it were, monopolised for many years, then, whensoever we have the opportunity of electing a new parliament, we are put upon the same necessity of chusing a knave skilful in the rules of the house and parliamentary laws, as we are sometimes in private matters of chusing one that is expert in pleadings, and the methods of the common law, though we are not satisfied of his moral honesty; whereas, if every body had their turn, in a little time, all the principal freeholders would be instructed, and directed in the interest of their country.

Again: Delegation imports, in its own nature, a power in the person, or persons, who delegate, to revoke it at his, or their pleasure, and can be continued no longer than during the time, and particular occasions for which it is granted; and is understood to be no longer in being, than the constituents think fit to continue it. And delegates are always upon their good behaviour. When parliaments are not annually chosen, but continued during the prince's pleasure, longer than the present exigency for which they are called, the nature of a delegation, and the undoubted privileges of those that chuse them, are quite altered and overturned, and the delegation is perpetuated; though it should appear that the delegates are unfit for it, or unfaithful under it. From delegates, whom we ourselves have impowered, they become absolute masters; or, if delegates still, they are transformed from being the people's delegates and representatives, into the prince's delegates and creatures. By every repeated prorogation the people's commission is cancelled, and their new being is derived from the prince's will and pleasure, and measured out, and continued, according to their humble compliance with what is demanded from them.

Again: Annual parliaments are best suited to a limited monarchy (which I hope all Englishmen think the best) annual parliaments con-

tribute most to the ease, safety, and glory of the prince, as well as to the security and happiness of the subject. By annual parliaments, a confidence is begotten betwixt the prince and the people; the prince can scarce demand that, which the people will refuse, when the people have a confidence in him, and nothing contributes so much towards that confidence as annual parliaments. I again say, they remove all the jealousies which people retain of having their representatives debauched, which will be suspected when parliaments are continued; they are a curb upon designing ministers, who, for selfish and sinister ends, may be for endeavouring to embroil the king and his people, and many times have proved very uneasy and ruinous to princes. They remove grievances before they get to such an height as to pinch the people so hard, as to occasion such loud and unmannerly complaints, as have many times obliged princes, from a mistaken point of honour, to refuse their redress; and so have engaged them in unnecessary disputes with the people, which have lessened the figure, glory, and power of some of our princes, both here at home, and amongst their neighbours, more than any other thing in the world. Whereas, when a king of England does meet his people in parliaments annually chosen, he may reasonably expect to find them fraughted with fresh desires to unite him closer with his people, to assure him of their confidence and affection, and to give him earnest of it, and fix him in the heighth of power, reputation, and glory. For a king of England, encircled with a confiding parliament, is then, in his imperial lustre, more glorious than any monarch of the east; then he infallibly becomes the terror of his foes, the stay and support of his friends, and the joy, comfort, and darling of his people.

As to the people, the continuing of the same parliament is a more fatal, and likely to be a more successful way to blow up all our liberties, than either *quo warranto's*, regulations, or any other methods practised in the two last reigns, of which we complained so loudly, and with so much justice. A prince may more certainly bribe, than quo warranto, or regulate parliaments. The nation will be awakened at those irregular steps: But a king may seem to proceed according to form, when he continues that parliament which he has made pensioners. King Charles the Second was his arts-master in this point: He was no enemy to a long parliament, whilst he had a long list of many of their names, of whom a certain great man can give a good account.

It will add weight to what I said, if we find it the practice of the greatest, wisest, and most renowned nations, to make provision for the frequency and rotation of their dyets and parliaments. And that the most glorious and victorious princes of those nations have met most frequently with their people in parliament. I shall not instance from our own history; I suppose no Englishman ignorant how frequently our Edwards and Henries put a stop to the course of their victories to meet their people in parliament. Have not the people of Spain made most careful provisions for the frequent meeting of their states, with securities and cautions peculiar to themselves, and much more exact than

what other nations can pretend to? And have not the greatest and most victorious of their kings been the readiest to enlarge their privileges, and most exact in observing them? Their Sanchoes, their Henries, their Ferdinands, and their Charles's were as careful of meeting their people in their dyets, as of subduing and conquering their enemies: And it is observable, that King Charles, who was most exact in meeting his people frequently, raised the monarchy of Spain to its highest pitch of strength and glory; and his son Philip, who offered at a despotick power, and abhorred the meeting of his people, did first eclipse the glory of that monarchy, and threw it into that decay and consumption, under which it laboureth to this day. Did not the French nation, upon their conquest of, and settlement in Gaul, now France, establish the frequent meeting of their states? And the most victorious of their princes have been most exact in meeting of their people, oftener than annually, as may be instanced in their Clovis, their Pepin, Charlemagne, and the successors of Hugh Capet for several ages. And though Lewis the Eleventh, and most of his successors, have endeavoured to suppress the states, and rendered that monarchy despotick, yet it has furnished ground for so many commotions, tumults, leagues, and rebellions, as have not only frequently put a stop to the course of their victories, but unravelled all their successes; and the subjects have many times returned with interest the incroachment of their princes upon their liberties, and reduced that monarchy to the last gasp; and the struggles of the people of France, and parliament of Paris, during the minority of this present king, to recover their lost liberties, joined with many other instances which their history affords, do plainly demonstrate the tottering and dangerous condition of all despotick governments. Again: What miseries, and unspeakable calamities, was Germany exposed to; full of civil wars and discords within, by the competition of princes for the empire; harrassed and depopulated from without by the Hungarians, Sclavonians, Vandals, and Danes; to all which no remedy could be found, but by the establishing of frequent and annual dyets, by the Golden Bull in Charles the Fourth's time? wherein the absent princes, imperial cities, and Hans Towns, who send their deputies, take especial care of changing the deputies every dyet, lest they should be bribed, and gained by the imperial ministers. By this wise provision for frequent dyets, peace was settled at home, competition of titles for the Imperial dignity was extinguished, foreign invasions repressed, and the whole body preserved in health and vigour. In a word, their annual dyets were an invincible barrier against the inundation of the Turks on the one side, and the incroachments of the French on the other. And it is that only which has preserved them from being swallowed up betwixt these two troublesome neighbours. I do omit to instance from Holland, Switzerland, and Poland, which have hitherto been preserved invincible, by the frequent assemblies of their states.

Now I have briefly delivered my thoughts for annual parliaments; give me leave to set down what I think the great and indispensable character or qualifications of a parliament-man; and they are these, sense, courage, and integrity.

Sense has divers acceptations; but that sense, that is required to capacitate a man for serving usefully within those walls, is not the learning of universities, but the knowledge of England. A sense of liberty, of what is meant by our rights and properties: A sense of our laws and interest, of the nature of our government, of our trade, of our natural strength and welfare. It cannot be denied, but that the comparing of the histories of other nations, the reading over the systems of policy, and the lives of the great and exemplary patriots of antiquity in all countries, mightily enlarge their understandings, and adorn the great speakers in that assembly; but, if a man has not reduced all that to the use of this island, he has not the sense requisite for this post. If his head is never so full of the ideas of foreign constitutions, if he is not wise as to our home matters; if he has travelled never so far for experience; if he is a stranger to the isle of Britain; he may make a loquacious politician, a florid orator, a statesman in speculation, but he will never make a venerable member of our parliament. A man that understands but well our English manufactory, the natural products of our country, the balance of merchandizing, what imp rtations and exportations are to be prohibited or encouraged, what are the grievances the people complain of, which of them are reasonable to be redressed, and what are the proper methods of doing it; he that knows how much we can give, what is fit to be given, and can examine how what we have given is laid out, is more fitly qualified for our senate-house, than if he could discourse of government, better than all those learned men, who pretend so nicely to understand and distinguish the several sorts? If the countries and corporations have any thing particular, in relation to their counties and corporations to be represented, they ought to chuse one that understands the nature of what they would have represented, or that is at least capable of being throughly instructed in that matter. But at the same time that they chuse one for their particular purpose, they ought to consider that he votes for the whole commonwealth, and therefore they must not chuse any man that is addicted only to their interest, but should always deliberate whether he is of a publick and universal spirit, as well as a proper advocate for them. But this will come in more properly, when I speak concerning integrity.

The next qualification is courage. Although the word Parliament signifies to speak freely the mind, and though liberty of speech is always granted to all parliaments, yet courage is necessary upon many accounts; it is often necessary to withstand the frowns of a prince; it is necessary to bear a man above popular clamour; it is necessary when peace and war is debated. There has scarce been any reign wherein the princes have not hectored some of the members: There is scarce any session, but arts are used to stir up the people against their own interest; and, if a parliament house, upon the noise of a war, should be seized with a panick fear, the whole nation would soon be dispirited; so that it is necessary to have courage to preserve his own integrity, and to uphold the hearts of those that he represents.

Again, whoever would discharge the office of a good senator, must

have integrity that is proof against gain, against fear and sollicitation. If he can be affrighted, or bri[illegible], or over-ruled out of his own sense of things, he is not fit for that place. Preferments may be added to, but must not change the man. Threats must make him more watchful and resolute, and he must be sure to distinguish between insinuation and argument. He must consider himself as a publick man; he must not know his own interest, or the interest of the place from whence he comes. When the general good of England comes in competition, he must consider himself as well, and more the representative of England than of that county or town for which he serves: But, when he has considered the national interest, then in gratitude and duty he is to consider the interest of the body of the electors, more than his own private advantage; he is to strip himself of all relation, and to be a kin to the commonwealth. His soul must soar up into the exalted height of an heroical virtue, and he is to believe that it is a pleasureable and noble enjoyment even to sacrifice himself and all private considerations for his country; he is to lay aside all private capacities, and, as it were, to transmigrate into a publick alliance and affinity, *Cum calculis suffragiorum sumeret magnanimitatem reipublicæ*, as Demosthenes used to advise the people of Athens in great causes of estate: He used to advise, that, when they took into their hands the balls, whereby to give their voices (according to the manner then in practice at Athens) they should raise their thoughts, and lay aside those considerations, which their private vocations and degrees might minister and represent unto them; and should take upon them cogitations and minds agreeable to the dignity of the state: And there is good reason for this advice; for, certainly, if a man shall be only or chiefly sensible of those respects which his particular vocation or degree, or the state of the county or town which sends him, shall suggest and infuse into him, and not enter into true and worthy considerations of estate, he shall never be able aright to give or take counsel in parliamentary affairs, in the business of the senate-house.

The notion of integrity has been too much mistaken of late. The being of a particular church or party has christened men honest; and in this last parliament pretending to be for king William, has gained those that epithet, who never understood a king as the father of his country; who make his political capacity above the laws of men, if I may not say the laws of God too. Integrity, in the monarchy of England, implies more of a national than slavish spirit, more of common care than personal adoration; and it is sad to think, that any knave can redintegrate his reputation, only by being a Williamite, without being converted to an Englishman. Those cannot be thought (let them be as much Williamites as they will) to preserve the integrity of a parliament-man, who change or stifle their principles for a place; nor can those be thought fit members for that house, who, either for their pleasure, or private business, neglect coming up to town, no more than those who have so many offices, that they can scarce peep within those doors, or who are so lazy and loitering, that they come not till it is too late to hinder them, and so suffer the nation to be

circumvented by the artifices and tricks of the court, who always set them on foot, when the house is empty. I would have my countrymen beware (if ever they chuse again) of these self-interested and careless men. They ought, now their All is at stake, to examine how their members have behaved themselves, whether they have been tender of the liberty of our persons, frugal of our fortunes, bold against male administration, prosecutors of crimes, and not persecutors of men. Sense, courage, and integrity are necessary to make a man behave himself as he ought, in these important points. Let them chuse no MAN that has not sense, courage, and integrity, or that will not receive their instructions. There are no counties, and few towns, wherein they do not understand the interest of their country enough to give general instructions. Let me recommend those to them I have hinted at in this paper; order them to bring in bills to regulate the militia, to encourage the use of firelocks amongst the populace, to increase our navy, to reduce all our part of the war to that navy; to settle such salaries upon the judges as may make them impartial: And, above all things, order them to bring in a bill to secure annual parliaments, and the elections of members for the future. Advise them to ransack all our own records, and to consult all the several governments upon that head. Chuse but once wise and honest brave men, and they will find expedients to avoid the disputes, and baffle the arts which have rendered elections precarious and illegal. They will find methods to be too hard for court-tricks, and spend-thrift competitors. Chuse no man that is not willing to be instructed, you have a right to instruct them: It was the custom formerly to instruct all the members; and the nature of the deputation shews, that that custom was well grounded.

To conclude. Thus have I given my thoughts freely, as to two material points; viz. the old English right of annual parliaments (for a more ample account of which, I must refer my reader to Mr. Johnson's essay on that subject) and the qualifications requisite in such as represent the good people of England in the lower house; which I have done, without regard to any party or interest but that of my country. If what I have said shall have any influence on my fellow subjects, in the present elections; and on those that represent them when they come together, in order to obtain an act for the chusing of parliaments yearly, I shall obtain my utmost aim.

A CATALOGUE OF PETITIONS,

Ordered to be drawn up and presented to the honourable House at the next Session.

Quarto, containing four pages.

A PETITION of the brewers and butchers, that the former may be incorporated with the vintners, and the latter with the apothecaries.

A petition of the bandbox-men and trunk-makers, that the Athenian Mercury, and all weekly papers of the like nature, be continued.

A petition of twenty-thousand tradesmen, that, if their wives offer to draw bills more than once a night upon them, they may be impowered honourably to reject them.

A petition of the quack-doctors, that the constables may not disturb the industrious night-walkers in the Strand, Fleet-street, and Cheapside.

A petition of Dr. Salmon, and two more of the fraternity, that they may have the sole benefit of a new religion, by them lately invented; and that no other persons presume to interlope upon them.

A petition of the quakers, that their bare word may be equivalent to swearing, and nonsense to true reasoning; and likewise, that it may be lawful for them to fornicate out of their own tribe.

A petition of all the married women in the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweede, that the Dog-days be immediately repealed.

A petition of the moderate divines, that the thirtieth of January and twenty-ninth of May be discarded out of the almanack, as being great eye-sores to the godly party.

A petition of the maids, that the Mosaical signs of virginity be declared void and unnecessary, and unfit to be required under the Christian dispensation.

A petition of the ribbon-weavers, that shoulder-knots and pantaloons of happy memory be revived.

A petition of the booksellers to declare, that licensing of books is popish and superstitious, and destructive of the liberty of the subject.

A petition of the inhabitants of White-Friars, that their bounds be enlarged, that they may have room enough to receive the broken merchants and tradesmen, that daily flock in to them.

A petition of the poets, for a speedy restoration of claret, and the utter banishment of little diminutive pagan bottles.

A petition of the midwives and highway-men, that Savin and Hemp may be rooted out of the commonwealth.

A petition of the glasiers and tallow-chandlers, that it may be lawful to break windows, on thanksgiving-days, where no lights are set out.

A petition of Dr. Otes, that every evidence, for the future, shall be obliged to repair to him for a license.

A petition of the prisoners in Newgate, that their confessions and dying-speeches may not be printed before they are hanged.

A petition of Dr. Partridge, that no almanack-maker pretend to prophesy for the government, but himself.

A petition of the fiddlers, that kicking down stairs and broken heads be reckoned no scandal.

A petition of the players, that they may be allowed plurality of wives, in order to be sure of a maidenhead once in their lives.

A second petition of the booksellers, that, when a dull heavy book lies upon their hands, it may be publickly burnt, to promote the sale of it.

A petition of Bully Dawson, and the rest of his brethren, that swearing and roaring be adjudged as effectual a sign of valour, as fighting.

A petition of several young gentlemen of the inns of court, that a statue be erected to Dr. Wall, at the publick charge.

A petition of the northern attornies, for a speedy conclusion of the war, because, at present, the people cannot spare money to go to law.

A petition of the harlots, that pluralities be denied to all married women, of what degree or quality soever.

A petition of the coffee-houses, that they may be privileged in fornication up stairs, and for treason and false news below.

A petition of the country parsons, that, in favour of them, the house will be pleased to take off the additional duty upon tobacco.

A petition of the city clergymen's daughters, that *increase and multiply* be made the eleventh commandment.

A petition of the knights of the post, that all the pillories in the kingdom be burnt on the next thanksgiving-day.

A petition of the drawers, about the Temple and Covent-Garden, that they may be allowed to lie a-bed till eleven.

A petition of the Royal Society, that the comb-makers, mouse-trap men, and Athenians be suppressed, as interlopers upon them.

A petition of the chimney-sweepers, that they may have the scouring of all ecclesiastical consciences, every spring and fall.

A petition of the city, that none be suffered to talk treason, but such as are well-affected to the commonwealth.

A petition of the College of Physicians, that the importation of Dutch doctors be prohibited, as prejudicial to the manufacture of our own universities.

A petition of the taylors, that leave be given to bring in a long bill to promote new fashions.

A petition of the seamen, that the parsons may not meddle with politicks, but every one keep in his own element.

A petition of the barbers, that they may be made free of the church, since the divines have usurped upon their trade, by turning trimmers.

A petition of the country inn-keepers, that the soldiers, quartered in their houses, would be content to tap their hogsheads, but not their wives, or daughters.

A petition of the dissenting divines, that none shall be admitted into that class, but men of strong lungs and stronger backs.

A petition of the anabaptists, that they may be impowered to erect a publick dipping-pond at Lambeth Ferry.

A petition of the painters, that they may have leave to enter all the conventicles in town, and draw their respective pastors in their proper colours.

A petition of the waistcoateers of Wapping, that it may be lawful for them to go sixteen months with child, in cases of necessity.

A petition of the printers, that all distinctions of bawdry, blasphemy, and treason be utterly abolished.

A petition of the proctors of the commons to have fornication encouraged, that they may have the sole punishing of it afterwards.

A petition of the claret-drinkers, that red noses shall qualify people for all sorts of preferment.

A petition of several mayors and aldermen, that money be adjudged to comprehend both wit, sense, and good breeding.

A petition of several recorders in the kingdom, that making of speeches be utterly abolished, unless Bulls be tolerated.

A petition of the ordinary of Newgate, that all sorts of breaking be declared sinful, but especially sabbath-breaking.

A petition of the orphans that the monument be hung with mourning once a year, and that at the expence of the chamber.

A petition of the several ladies living near Westminster, that all deserters be brought to condign punishment.

A petition of the Athenians, that they may have a patent for their new invention of making second-hand Spira's.

A petition of the parish-clerks, that a day be set a part to celebrate the pious memory of Hopkins and Sternhold, and that the city poet draw up the service for the day.

And for your worships then we'll pray,
For eke, for ever, and for ay.

HOW TO ADVANCE THE TRADE

OF

THE NATION,

AND TO EMPLOY THE POOR.

Folio, containing four pages.

Humbly offered to the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses assembled in Parliament.

TO employ our poor, and advance the trade of the nation, are matters of great concern at this time. This honourable assembly are not insensible of the abundance of complaints throughout the kingdom in general in most trades, for want of sale for their goods. It is supposed there may be five hundred thousand poor of one sort or other in the nation; and if these poor are to be put to work on the same manufactories which we are over-stocked with already, what will be done with all those goods so many thousand hands shall make more every year? It is but undoing in one place to make another. The merchants generally send but very little more to markets abroad one year than another; they commonly know what quantities of goods will glut each market abroad. Most commodities and manufactories are brought to so low an ebb, that slow workmen cannot get their living at their trades, and many of such, with their families, are become the poor of the parish wherein they are; yet the slowest of handicraft tradesmen will out-do those poor which never wrought before in each trade, if they were put into a work-house together; and for any number of persons joining together to employ the poor in the woollen manufactories, or any other where the price is beat down to so low a rate that the slow workmen cannot maintain themselves, what those persons gain by such poor is by oppressing the oppressed, and the cries of them will rage against the kingdom and government, because of the hard usage of several of their task-masters for lucre of gain to themselves. The poor ought to be encouraged, and mercifully dealt with, and kindly used, until their slow hands be brought to ready working, and ought at first to have the highest price the commodity will bear to themselves, and their overseers, and master-workmen that teach them, be paid by the parish; it is sufficient advantage for them if they can in some small time bring those poor to maintain themselves, which has been so burthensome to them heretofore. But how to set so many hands at work at this time, when trade is at so low an ebb, requires great consideration; and several

manufactories, which at present are manufactured abroad, must be encouraged at home. There are several commodities in this kingdom, which cannot be had in any of our neighbouring countries, which ought to be wrought up at home; but we encourage foreign wrought goods to be brought here, and send our unwrought goods to our neighbouring countries, who manufacture the same. By such methods we may well wonder what is become of the trade of the nation, whereby our merchants are undersold at markets abroad in those commodities which cannot be well had elsewhere but from England; which, if they were manufactured at home, and kept amongst our merchants to export, it would be an inlet to the selling of several other commodities, which are supplied now by the Dutch, and others of our neighbouring countries. But our trade is over-burthened by duties laid on our wrought goods, and our unwrought encouraged to be expected, with several other obstructions too tedious to set forth; by which the poor tradesmen and their families are become a far greater tax to the nation than all that the king's customs amount to.

Likewise in our merchants goods, which are imported and exported again in less than a year, are allowed to draw back the duty so formerly paid by them, if the property be not altered, by chipping, cutting, grinding, garbling, shaving, or rasping, or otherways altering thereof; so that the Dutch and other countries employ their poor, in doing that which ours ought to do; by which their merchants serve abundance of markets abroad with such goods as we cannot do, because, if the property be altered, the draw-back will not be allowed; which is in several goods about twenty-five pounds per cent. which is a great hindrance to the merchant, and quite loses the profit of working the same here. And suppose the property should be altered, so that the same be exported in time, it would occasion a greater employ of the poor, and it would be no detriment or hindrance to the King in his customs, nor obstruct our navigation, and our merchants may serve other countries with these commodities as well as the Dutch and others.

The Dutch consider how to employ their poor, and prepare all the work they possibly can contrive for them; and all goods, which are capable of labour, they commonly have it done before they will part with it; which is the reason they have none but what get their living at one thing or other. They employ their poor in rasping dyers woods, which they have commonly from us, and serve all markets abroad with that commodity, which we cannot do, by reason of that obstruction at the custom-house, in not allowing the draw-back where the property is altered. And in abundance of other goods too long to insert here.

The Dutch buy their hemp at Riga, and other places where we buy ours; but they employ their people to manufacture the same into sail-cloth, and they import it on us, and we, to encourage them, use it for our royal navy, and all our merchants ships, and all other small vessels, hoys, busses, lighters, and boat-sails; which trade, were it encouraged here, would go a great way in the maintenance of our poor, and great gain is to be had thereby. We had at first our woollen manufactory from the Dutch, we sold them wool and fulling-clay, and we took their woollen-cloth, and now we take their sail-cloth; but after we prohi-

bited our wool and fulling-earth from being sent to Holland, and their cloth from coming here, it put our workmen on invention, and in a little time we became the famousest at that trade in the world; and so we might be as well at sail-cloth, were we encouraged, and the Dutch discouraged. We ought to contrive all ways to employ our poor, and keep within ourselves the working up of all our own commodities; as leather, lead, fulling-clay, wool, copper, Calaminaris, tin, pewter, and all other of our own product. The planting of trees is neglected, by which in a little time we shall lose the making of iron and steel, the refining our brass and other metals, and great part of our lands lie waste and barren, not cleared or tilled, whilst thousands of our people want employment, and many thousands hide themselves in obscurity, in places remote from their beings, for fear of arrests, who are not able to pay their debts, and would willingly fly any where for refuge. Bad debts contracted to relieve some in necessity, and many others in prisons without any satisfaction to the creditor but revenge, and their families become chargeable to the parishes wherein they are; many by their poverty, are driven to the last extremity, take to ill courses to rob and steal, and our counties sued; great sums of money paid for apprehending and trying these robbers, and several other great mischiefs occasioned by poverty, which is burthensome to the country; which if all matters were computed is more loss to the nation than the charge will amount to in clearing most of our barren lands throughout the kingdom; and rightly considering, so sure as the people work in clearing and tilling the ground, so consequently those lands will be so much richer, and what is laid out will bring in again with considerable profit, and inrich the nation. It would be better for the kingdom in general, that there were a tax laid on every parish to regulate these great mischiefs, than to lie under the burthen thereof, without any hopes of relief. Therefore this following method is humbly proposed,

By *William Goffe.*

THE PROPOSALS.

Imprimis, That there be a tax laid on every parish throughout the kingdom, according to the poor tax-rate, to be continued for three years, and paid quarterly.

2. That there be six pounds per cent, per annum, allowed to any person or persons who shall lend the said three years tax at once, that there may be money sufficient to carry on the undertaking.

3. Near each fishing-port throughout the kingdom, there are commonly barren lands, which may be rented at four pence or six pence, per annum, an acre.

4. That a convenient parcel of such lands, near each fishing-port, be rented or purchased at the nation's charge, to erect fishing factories on, for sowing hemp and flax, and planting of trees, such as are convenient or building of ships, hoys, and busses.

5. That there be some knowing men chosen out of the neighbouring parishes, near each of these fishing-ports, to mark out the land into parcels, and that they ascertain the price of every acre what the labour is worth to clear the same.

6. That there be a proclamation published throughout the kingdom, that all persons that are willing to work in clearing those lands, at the price ascertained, shall have ready money for their labour as they constantly do their work; and each of them shall have ground given them to build a house on free. And all those who are in debt, and do deliver up to their creditors all the effects they have, wearing apparel and household goods only excepted, shall be protected from being arrested or molested from any such debt or debts; and all tradesmen likewise, that are willing to inhabit or settle there on any of the fishing-factories, shall be likewise protected.

7. That these persons shall not be protected at any other place or places, but at these fishing ports or factories, or whilst these persons are fishing or selling their fish in any other markets throughout the kingdom.

8. And that whereas, at most of these ports are places, where wool is commonly sent away at stealth, and prohibited, and other custom-goods privately run a-shore, that any person belonging to these fishing-factories, who shall seize any of such goods, shall be allowed one half-part of all such goods, to themselves.

9. That, at every of these fishing-ports, there be four fishing-busses belonging to each factory, with all nets and other fishing-tackle, provided with the master, and manned with fishermen to teach the people to catch fish, and they to be paid first, at the publick charge. And all those belonging to these factories, that are willing to go a fishing, may every one take their turn each month; and that two thirds of all such fish be divided amongst those who go a fishing; the other third of the fish to be sold, and applied towards wear and tear and charges in nets and tackle. And, that some of the masters and officers belonging to the neighbouring parishes be chosen to take charge of the same, and see all things performed.

10. That, in every of these factories, some of the military officers be appointed to discipline these men, every week or fortnight, and they to be the governors over these people, at each of these fishing factories; the men to be paid by the publick, those days they exercise.

11. That all the parishes throughout the kingdom do send their ablest poor to be employed at these factories; some to dig, plant, and till the ground, and the others to be employed to work up the hemp and flax, and to make sail-cloth, cordage, nets, twine, lines, and sails; the women to spin, and make coarse linnen, &c. and, as the profits come in by this undertaking, the parish-taxes will abate throughout the kingdom.

12. That there be a large work-house, or work-houses, erected at every of these fishing-ports, and that there be master-workmen, paid at the publick charge, to teach the people to work, which, in time, will teach one another; that these master-workmen be men of knowledge and understanding in making of sail-cloth, nets, cordage, twine

lines, and all other necessaries belonging to the fishing-trade. And that they do take care, that the people's stock of goods be not embezzled, and that they do give account to the masters of the neighbouring parishes, who shall be appointed for that purpose every week, and that they be appointed to pay and receive all goods, and to keep the stores, and give an account of all rising profits.

13. That, in every particular sort of work the full current price for every thing be ascertained, and that they be allowed a sufficient rate for their work, until their slow hands be brought to quick working, for afterwards, the price will fall in course, and those which are become used to clearing of lands will take lands of their own accord, and clear it to get themselves a livelihood; and so likewise, in fishing, they will in time be able to join together, and go a fishing at their own charge, when they find the profit thereof.

14. To encourage this undertaking, that all the sail-cloth which shall be used for the royal navy be wrought up at these workhouses belonging to these fishing-factories; and to bring the merchant-men to buy theirs, in the nation, the following method is proposed:

15. That there be a high duty laid on all new sails of foreign-made cloth, which shall be used to any of our English ships, boys, lighters, busses, boats, or any others; that the duty be collected at the custom-house, which will in time hinder merchant-men, and others, from buying their sails at markets abroad; and that all our sail-cloth be made with some blue stripe or other mark through every piece.

16. That all foreign nets be prohibited from being imported, because now most nets come from France and other parts.

17. That in every parish throughout the kingdom there be workhouses erected; and, instead of supplying the poor's necessities with money, as now they do, that they be obliged to supply them with a stock of goods to work up, and let them have the full price for the same. It is better for each parish to receive goods, which carry the intrinsick value with them, than to lose all the money so gathered every year, as they now do.

18. That all charity-money, voluntarily given by any person or persons to the poor of each parish, be laid out in unwrought goods, and equally divided, to every one share and share alike; and that the parish be obliged to take all such goods so made by the poor, and give them ready money for the same, or more stock of unwrought goods to put them to work again.

19. That the poor be most encouraged to work on those commodities, which at present are wrought beyond sea, as, sail-cloth, hemp and flax-dressing, making of coarse linnen and woollen-cloth, &c. We ought to consider how to force all trades, and how to find as much employment for our trades, as possible; therefore it is proposed,

20. That all foreign hemp and flax be imported duty-free.

21. That there be a high duty laid on all unwrought lead and tin exported.

22. That all manufactured lead, or tin, be exported duty-free.

23. That there be a duty laid on all fulling-earth, tobacco-pipe clay, and calaminaris, to be paid at the pit, at so much a yard, or

rod; and not suffered to be dug without oath first made, and a certificate from the next justice of the peace, of what quantity, and what use, and where to be sent, and the duty gathered by those of the parish, who collect the King's tax, &c. For the duty-sake these pits will be taken notice of, which will hinder the carrying it away by stealth.

24. That there be a duty laid on all unwrought leather exported.

25. That all leather, manufactured into shoes, boots, harnesses, &c. be exported duty free.

26. That all raw silks, cotton, or any other commodities, which are useful to employ the tradesmen, imported, may not be allowed any draw-back at the custom-house on exportation, as in other goods, which will hinder merchants from exporting them abroad again, that our tradesmen may be supplied, as cheap as our neighbouring countries, with those goods they want to put them to work.

27. That all goods, which are imported, and exported again in time, may be allowed the usual draw-back at the custom-house, as well in goods where the property is altered, as in others where the property is not altered; by which means several of our poor may be employed, and all those who want work, and are in debt, and have not to pay, will flock to these fishing-factories; and, instead of lying in jails, and their families becoming burdensome to the parishes, we shall have our barren lands cleared, tilled, manured, and well wooded with fine groves of trees fit to build shipping; which will shelter those bleak and wild places; and those ports in time will become famous fish-markets, and these men well disciplined, which will be good outguards for our kingdom, ready to assist in time of necessity, and will breed up a nursery of seamen ready to man our royal navy on any occasion. By this, our lands and our livings will be secure from the attempts of any foreign enemy, our trade will flourish, and our poor be provided for, and will be an everlasting safety and happiness to our kingdom and government: Which God long preserve.

THE STATE GAMESTERS;

OR

THE OLD CARDS NEW PACKED AND SHUFFLED.

Folio, containing two pages.

A SET of gamesters all together met,
Some came to play, and others came to bet.
The cards produc'd, they first for dealing cut,
Some play'd at noddy, and the rest at put.

The noddy gamesters, having drunk too hard,
Could not distinguish knave from other card;
But like true Scots, being eager of the cup,
They cou'd not tell the game when it was up.
Instead of minding how the cards were laid,
Fell all asleep, while t'other gamesters play'd;
But, being wak'd to pay their drunken scores,
They chang'd their noddy game into all-fours:
And then, with one consent, new cards they buy,
And vow'd they'd play the strict severity.
A cunning blade, that knew each card i'th' pack,
And gain'd experience in the art that's black:
Says he, "I'll fairly lay the cards all down,
And hold a wager of an even crown,
That we will have both lowest, Jack, and game,
Tho' you have shuffled them, and cut the same."
With that the cards being dealt about again,
Instead of Jack, comes up a single ten;
And clubs were trumps, at which the standers-by
Cry'd it was foul play, and gave this reason why,
Because the king o'th' hearts, which should have come,
Was put below the knave, by th' dealer's thumb.
So quick and nimble was that card convey'd,
None knew how it was dealt, nor how 'twas play'd.
But yet the other gamesters hop'd that Jack
Was not in hand, but still among the pack.
Yet some, who fear'd the worst, were in the dumps,
Lest Jack, next time, he should be turn'd up trumps.
Says one, 'Chear up, I've cards I will not name,
Tho' they are lowest, we'll secure the game;
And, if we lose it, then we are to blame.'
With that he play'd the queen, a card of honour,
But t'other threw the knave of trumps upon her;
When those, that betted, saw the queen was lost,
They knew which way the game was riding post.
(Yet, like true voters at a new election,
Who scorn to yield it up by bare inspection,
Call for a poll, and so, by telling noses,
Know which side wins, and which side 'tis that loses.)
So these high gamesters, they would tell for game,
For chalks, on both sides, are the very same.
But, seeing them produce two knaves and Jack,
Concluded they had all the knaves i'th' pack.
Alas! say they, what good doth highest do,
When they have got both Jack and lowest too?
Besides, we now must yield our game is gone,
For you have got three knaves to our one;
Which proves the proverb true, just to a letter,
Most knaves in number makes men's luck the better.

We'll game no more, till we have learn'd more skill,
Knaves will be knaves, let men play ne'er so well.
But we this resolution have laid down,
Never to play so high as for a crown.

A CATALOGUE OF BOOKS,

Of the newest Fashion,

To be sold by Auction, at the Whigs Coffee-House, at the Sign of the Jackanapes, in Prating-Alley, near the Deanery of St. Paul's.

Quarto, containing eight pages.

1. ECCEBOLIUS ANGLICUS: The Oxford turn-coat, or the duty of conforming to all times and circumstances of prevailing wickedness of the contrary, by Hum--y Ho—y, an humble asserter of that doctrine, dedicated to his master, St.——

2. Mercurius Deformatus: Or the Picture of Mercury, with a calf's head on, and no brains in it; by that contemptible writing, the Weekly Observator. Dedicated to the learned and worthy Dr. Welwood.

3. Lues Germanica: The Dutch Pox in folio. A modern treatise, holding forth a surer way of clapping our consciences, than a land fire-ship can our cod-pieces.

4. Si fortuna velit fies, de, &c. Gravel-lane to day, D—n of P—l's to-morrow, and Gravel-lane again, as moody fortune or spouse pleases: By smock-pecked Sh——k.

5. Quos Jupiter vult perdere, &c. England first made a Bethlem, by priests of latitude, and then an Aceldama, by the Dutch pilgrims in Soho; published as a specimen of the blessings we may rationally expect from a general comprehension of all religions, as well as of a general naturalisation of all nations.

6. Non magna loquimur sed, &c. By the pious author, and religious practiser, of the letter to the dying Lord Russ—l, addressed chiefly to his arch-brother and quondam pupil Dr. Sh——, as an antidote against shame and remorse; with a use of instruction, that those things, you cannot get fairly rid of by argument or banter, you must learn solidly to out-face.

7. Clodius accusat mœchos: Or three discourses against Tom Fir—n, and a fourth against hell-torments; the first tract extorted from the author, by the importunate clamours of those who hate hereticks in masquerade, as the author himself tells you, lest you should think he drew his pen in the defence of christianity voluntarily; the second published as a brief summary of his creed, by way of communicatory letter. Dedicated to his sub-intruders.

8. Heu quantum nobis profuit, &c. A treatise shewing that hypocrisy's the best religion, by him that gain'd six-thousand pounds, per annum, by it; these three last, by the same hand.

9. Dux fœmina facti: Conquest the best title to body and conscience, by Dr. Sh—k's wife, dedicated to her humble servant her husband; wherein these two points are proved at large: First, That no man is a good husband, who will not sacrifice his conscience, to the importunity of a wife: And secondly, That the doctor was visibly under her power, and, therefore, he was forced to submit, and might do so according to his hypothesis of force, which dissolves all obligation, especially since the female usurpation had been for a long time, and thoroughly settled.

10. Dum vitium fugiunt stulti, &c. An infallible cure for the cramp in the great toe, by cutting both legs off; the operation performed by the associated conventioners of eighty-eight, and approved by some of the task-masters of last Sessions. Together with apologies for the same, by those two foxes, John—n and Bar—t, each of which, though their heads stand different ways, has the fire-brand of rebellion in his tail.

11. Parturiunt montes, nascetur, &c. An exact list of all the countries, cities, towns, fortresses, castles, laden vessels, cannon, baggage, &c. taken from the French, since the commencement of the last war; by Johannes Pudendus, a speaker of short hand. Dedicated to the invisible, invulnerable, and thrice puissant protector of these three once flourishing kingdoms.

12. Manus manum fricat: Or, a king-maker deserves to be a wages-taker; by a club of those confiding Kn—s that sold their country last session; dedicated to their pay-master; wherein they gratefully own they have taken his money, but withal tell him they have not been behind-hand, but, for every hundred pounds they have received from him, they have given him ten-thousand.

13. E quovis ligno non fit Mercurius: Clearly demonstrating, that you will sooner make a sweet punch-bowl of a wooden close-stool, than an orthodox bishop of an old stinking fanatick; humbly offered to the crack-brained frantick window-breaker of Cripplegate, a lively and living testimony of the truth of that treatise.

14. Semper idem: Or, a covenanter in 47, an engager in 52, a negative and &c. Oath-man in 57, a surplice-renouncer in 61, a conformist and covenant-renouncer in 64, a rebel in 88, a scandalous intruder in 90, and a Judas always; by R———d K———r, and several others: Dedicated to undipt John, and are to be sold at the Windmill in Turncoat-Alley; where are alcorans or bibles, common-prayers or mass books, Geneva clokes or gowns and cassocks, mitres or

turbants of all sorts and sizes, for the use of the persevering confessors aforesaid.

15. Quæ genus et flexum variant, &c. Or, a prophecy of the six grand intruders; proving them to be heteroclites and heterodox, from the rudiments of grammar and christianity.

16. Nos patriæ fines, &c. Room for sooterkins, or, the neighbourly kindness of a general naturalisation; shewing, that, since foreigners have naturalised and adopted all our money, it is but reasonable that we should adopt and naturalise some of their men; because we have nothing left now to oblige them with, but our Terra Firma, and, since it is not possible to transport our mountains to them, we should bring them to our mountains.

17. Græculus esuriens, &c. A catalogue of refugees turned witches, in hopes of the honours and revenues of English bishopricks. By Gil—t Bu— t, founder of that order. Dedicated to Monsieur Alix, already a treasurer of one cathedral, and a forward putter for the government of another.

18. Exorcista. Or, England dispossessed of a Low-Country Devil, by the High-Dutch conjurer of the Savoy.

19. Ecclesia liberata. The established church preserved, by damning her doctrines to steal her pelf. By Brother I——— n of the Char—r-house; presented for a new year's gift to Sister Sym—n; wherein is learnedly proved, that passive obedience, without a parsonage and prebendary, and pater-nosters without pence, are unedifying tenets, and, that no church is worth the saving, that will not allow tent and eggs to one's breakfast.

20. Proximus sum egomet mihi. Near is my King, but nearer is my skin. By that renowned vindicator of the church, the martyr Dr. Pel—g. Dedicated to M. G. Ludlow, as a thankful return to his last obliging letter on that subject; containing the reasons of Jeshurun's kicking, and the doctor's deserting. Printed for Aminadab Rebellis, and are to be sold at the sign of the Jack-Pudding, in Taylor's court, near West———r.

21. Asperius nihil est humili, &c. A new-invented mathematical instrument, by the help of which one may discover, that, the higher a jackanapes climbs, the more he shews his arse. Published for a warning to Dr. Birch's fathers that never were sons, that they may take effectual care to double line their breeches, because there is an old saying, That 'Fools will be peeping.'

22. Octavus Sapientum: Or, Bog-witticisms improved, for the diversion of both sexes; being some small gleanings from the plentiful stock of the worshipful Sir Sal—l Lov—l R—r L——.

23. Asinus ad Lyram: An argument in law, proving, That killing of horses is downright murder. Published as a caution to prevent the effusion of christian blood. By the same ingenious author.

24. In dubiis tutior pars. Or, the broad way to save a man's bacon, and damn his soul.

25. Junius Brutus Redivivus. The loyal converter of the 30th of January, into a day of preparation for the sacrament; to be received only by such, who make it the first article of their religion, That the

murdering, or driving away lawful Kings, is not only lawful, but saint-like, performed on the last anniversary. By W—ms of the Poultry.

26. Filius ante diem: A vindication of disobedience and parricide, proving, that children owe no duty to parents, unless so long as they did not understand it; but, when they come to years of discretion, they may, and ought to maintain their liberty of disobedience, even to the destruction of their parents, if they but suspect that they will labour to prevent such undutifulness. Dedicated to a very dutiful lady, at the great house near Ch—ng-cross; by the plier at St. Andrew's, Holborn.

27. Semel insanivimus omnes: Or, a treatise shewing, That he is no good philosopher, that has not committed one folly. But, at the same time, shewing, That he is an ass and a knave, that pursues it, when he sees the cheat. Published by a club of relenting abdicators; and now done, dedicated to the several counties, cities, towns corporate, and boroughs they represent.

28. Collyrium ophthalmicum: Sovereign eye-bright, to remove the mists from the people's eyes, that they may see their condition, and reward their riders. Addressed to the unfeigned lovers of England, of what condition or persuasion soever.

29. Nolumus hunc regnare: An epitome of all the learned reasons given by our intruders, and present riders, against returning to our senses, and restoring the King; with an appendix of fear of punishment and disgrace. Dedicated to half a dozen of henpecked London divines.

30. Nunquam sera est ad bonos, &c.: Or, the resurrection of allegiance and discipline, from the grave of rebellion and schism, by the oppressed and abused sons of the old church of England. Published to the confusion of those sons of Latitude and Belial, that make heaven pimp to their interest.

31. Ex nihilo nihil fit: Or, a dissertation of the no power of a no parliament, making a no King, that will always be doing us no good, by leaving us no parliaments without perjury and pensioners, no church without knaves and intruders, no trade without hazard and losses, no credit at home or abroad, no honour nor conscience, no blood in our veins, nor money in our pockets, none but Holland frogs and caterpillars in the nation, and nothing but repentance at the last.

Cases of Conscience, and Queries.

1. Whether a pensioner be not ten times worse than a Lapland wizard, since the latter only sells his own soul to the devil, but the pensioner sells other men's souls, bodies, and all?

2. Whether a coachman may not drive post to the D—l, by profaning the Lord's-day, notwithstanding the licence of the house?

3. Whether the remaining four of the unrepealed commandments o ght not to be cashiered next session?

4. Whether the members were asleep in St. Margaret's, or St. Stephen's, when they voted Dr. Birch a saint in one place, and a malignant in the other?

5. Whether the fifth commandment be part of the coronation-oath, since our governors observe it so strictly?

6. Whether protestant tyranny be not better than popish tyranny, by six millions, per annum?

7. Whether popish knaves and gridirons have done us half so much mischief, as Dutch declarations and English pensioners?

8. Whether it is not a cordial to an Englishman's stomach, to hear a nasty Dutchman swear, that they have given us a King to wipe their stadtholder's backside?

9. Whether it is better to have some religion, all peace, and moderate taxes? or no peace, no religion, and all taxes?

10. Whether, when the roguy engraver fixed old Noll's head on W————m's shoulders, the figure were not all of a piece?

11. Whether six-hundred thousand pounds were not too small a gratuity to our dear saviours, the Dutch? And whether we had not better openly give them all, than let them take it underhand, and laugh at us into the bargain?

12. Whether our governors do not act wisely, in sacrificing our seamen, and starving their wives, since they design shortly we shall have no ships?

13. Whether it was not a true blunder, in him that took the pope's picture for that of K. W. since he interpreted the two keys to be those of our coffers and consciences?

14. Whether Julian, or Sherlock, deserve the whetstone; since Julian has been always true to a false principle, and Sherlock a traitor, and false to a true one?

15. Whether S—— be not the most excusable instrument in our present slavery, since treason and rebellion, in him, are original sin?

16. Whether Cumb——d and Ten——n ever confuted ten Hobbists by their bawling and printing? And whether they have not made ten-thousand by their practice?

17. Whether Julian, the house, or the hangman have made the best second treble to Gilbert's pastoral?

18. Whether Father Sim——n has been rebaptised, since he publickly renounced christianity in Peter————gh cathedral?

19. Whether the Scotch conferences and the Friendly debate are not damnably ashamed of their rascally authors?

20. Whether the Pilgrim's Progress, or the Parable of the Pilgrim, had the better tinker to their author, since they both set up for a pair of church-menders?

21. Whether Richard of Kidderminster had not much more episcopacy and uniformity in him, than our St. Richard Kidder?

22. Whether the Latin reason of Auri sacra fames, or the English

of the 'Grey mare is the better horse', did operate most in making Sherlock a changeling?

23. Whether Bedlam ever produced any thing half so lewd and frantick, as Cresner's lampoons upon the Apocalypse?

24. Whether the old Welch seer may not, with the help of a small looking-glass, see an old crazy-crowned infidel, since he pawned his creed in 88, that Lewis the Grand and Old Nick should be chamber-fellows in the other world, before the end of 92?

25. Whether J. C. or J. Y. have not all the reason imaginable to admit ranters, sweet-singers, Muggletonians, Jews, Turks, and infidels to be church-members, since their own hearts tell them, they are as good christians as themselves?

26. Whether, in the next edition of his shame, the renowned author of the 'Contempt of the Clergy' ought not to add one other lamentable reason, besides those of ignorance and poverty, viz. Time-serving, together with his own phiz in the frontispiece?

27. Whether Dame Britannia was not less culpable, in being forced to endure a thirteen years rape from Oliver and the rump, than by living a five-years adulteress now by consent?

A

LETTER FROM A COUNTRY CLERGYMAN

To his Brother in the Neighbourhood,

TOUCHING SOME REPROACHES CAST UPON THE BISHOPS*.

Quarto, containing eight pages.

Dear Brother,

THE unhappy flames which of late have been blown up among us, by interesting ourselves in the disputes between the bishops and the lower house of convocation, and the unkind reflexions which are but too often cast upon the greater part of those venerable prelates by many even of our order, I conceive to be so great an offence to Almighty God, so dangerous to the welfare of our church, and to be such a reproach to our holy religion, that I cannot think it a great degree of forwardness in myself, or in any other, to endeavour whatever may

* Supposed to be writ by Dr. Wake.

lie in our power to compose those sad differences and animosities, the consequences whereof look so very fatal towards us. This is the occasion of troubling you with this letter; in which I shall take the liberty to excuse myself from making animadversions upon any miscarriages of our superiors, which some of them, by inadvertency, and the common frailty of human nature, may have fallen into, that being a part which I cannot think myself by duty called to, nor to be becoming a person who moves in so mean a sphere as I; and besides, I fancy I shall find matter enough to fill up this letter, in pointing at the faults which we are guilty of on our side, and shewing, that we have taken up very mistaken characters of very good and excellent men, by taxing them for actions with which they are no ways chargeable, or for which they are no ways blameable.

I. And indeed it is very dismal to consider what vile reproaches are cast upon the greatest part of those reverend persons by too many of our own coat: To hear us so frequently taxing them as affecting a tyrannical, despotick power over the clergy, as being betrayers of the common liberties of the church, mercenary instruments and parasites of the court, fanaticks in their hearts, and avowed enemies of every part of our ecclesiastical constitution, unless it be the fair revenues which they have the happiness to enjoy under it. For clergymen to utter these things in their discourse, both publick and private, and to publish the like, by writings, to the whole world, can be no ways suitable to the rules of the holy religion we profess, nor to the character we sustain in God's church; and, I think I may add, does bid the utmost defiance to the principles of the church of England, which bespeak the highest esteem and veneration for the order of bishops. This is a practice which there is none of us, some time past, but would have condemned with the greatest abhorrence and detestation. Let us, for once, suppose some body to have prophesied fourteen or fifteen years ago, that many of us who then valued ourselves so much upon our duty and obedience to our bishops, and passed such severe reflexions upon the undutiful carriage of others, that we should, within a few years, treat them with so an unhandsome deportment, and give them all those good compliments which have been so freely of late bestowed upon them, would not every one of us have been ready to return, with indignation, that of Hazael, 'Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?' This, my good brother, does deserve a deep and serious reflexion; for those gospel duties, you know, are of eternal verity, and will be as true a thousand years hence, as they were twenty years ago; nor can I imagine that any one of us does think that a part of our religion can grow in or out of fashion, as people's clothes do. If there are no duties owing to our diocesans, we ought to recant the error we were in, by betraying the dignity of our own order, whilst we were, in time past, so liberally paying them; or, if there be any regards owing, the methods, which have been of late taken, have been but a pretty odd way of discharging them. And, since we are entered upon this point, I will beg the freedom to recommend to your consideration something farther upon it: And let us consider,

II. That the very raillery we, some of us, are wont to exert upon this occasion, if it was not levelled at our superiors, and the ground of it was never so well bottomed, is a part not altogether becoming our function. We that are the ministers of Jesus Christ are obliged more nicely to follow our great Master's copy and example, who, 'when he was reviled, reviled not again.' A christian pastor can never look with so ill a grace, as when he assumes the character of a droll, or a satyr. Sarcasm and buffoonery are at best but a sorry part of wit, and, I am confident, no part at all of religion. We frequently are commanded in scripture to afford to those who are committed to our charge a shining example of peaceableness and charity, but I cannot observe, that God has any where commissioned us a power to instruct them in the arts of taunts and invectives. This vile trade, we know well enough, was taken up by the accursed enemies of christianity. The Lucians, and Julians, and Celsus's, had singular talents this way, and did a great deal of mischief to the gospel by them; but I am at a loss to find when it received any benefit from ill-natured wits. The gospel thrived well by the meekness and patience of its first professors, and by such holy steps made its way over all the Pagan world, whilst heathenism, which was supported by the drollery and satyr of its philosophers, did daily lose ground, till it fell at last into nothing. This is argument sufficient to persuade us, that we pursue but very ill advised methods, whilst we are carrying on a cause that we are willing to have succeed, by means which are such a reproach to our profession, which shew so ill an example to our people, and which we have not the least hopes to expect, that God Almighty will crown with any manner of blessing. Now, if we would seriously apply this, we should have an end of such smart books, and fine jests upon our bishops, especially if we considered, that these jests are not only very unmannerly, as being advanced against our betters, but do likewise share a great degree of irreligion and profaneness; for those holy persons, who, by their office, do bear so nigh a relation to our blessed Lord, cannot be so unhandsomely sported with, without reflecting a reproach also upon Christ and his religion.

III. And as I look upon it a great fault to make use of such unhandsome drollery upon our diocesans, so I take it to be a very imprudent and unchristian way for us to trumpet about their faults, although they were guilty of them in those particulars, and in that degree, as some of us pretend. It is a kind of a natural law, which the vilest of men are scarce hardy enough to transgress, not to vilify those of our own body, and which bear any nigh relation to us. Those unkind offices are fit for strangers only to execute, every wise person esteeming it a madness to discover those defects which must, in the event, reflect upon himself. For the contempt, which one part of the body suffers, is, by an easy deduction, transferrable to the other. We of the clergy are apt to be loaded enough, of all conscience, by other people without doors; and the bishops of the church do find sufficient opposition from papists and sectaries; therefore, I presume, we clergymen are not, at that time, in the most warrantable employment, when we our-

selves are proclaiming to the world what ill actions we impute to our bishops. If, as a late ingenious author says, 'that those men who read lessons to princes, how to strain ecclesiastical power to the utmost, without exceeding it, be church Empsons and Dudleys,' I think I may as well conclude (if I delighted in hard words) that those who accuse the bishops of their own church for such ill men as some of our order do, are church Hams and Judas's, for discovering their father's nakedness, and betraying their spiritual governors.

IV. In the next place, it behoves a little to consider, before we make too bold with our bishops characters, how much we gratify our common enemies of all sorts, and expose our mother-church, by such a representation of the governors thereof, to the scorn and obloquy of those who greedily watch for such opportunities to revile us. Don't you think, that this must needs give a powerful encouragement to the several sectaries among us to come into the church, the governors whereof they see set off in those delicate colours, which some of us of late have so liberally adorned them with? What a curious history of English bishops must we expect from the next Popish pamphlets that come over from Doway and St. Omers? And what domestick authorities will be vouched to make their slanders good? It is easy enough to imagine, and common enough to observe, what fine sport the quarrels with our bishops make among our atheists and deists. Sometimes they take a handle from these differences to expose the bishops for "affecting an incompetent power, and for minding no part of their office so much, as to lord it over their fellow-shepherds; deny this, and they call upon the authorities of many of the clergy to assert it; and then it goes for undeniable. At other times they are pleased to be quit with these authorities themselves, and call them all a parcel of hypocritical sparks, that make a world of stir with duty and obedience, till it begins to pinch them, and then they fly in the face of the king and bishops without fear or discretion.' One would think, that we are under a perfect infatuation to make ourselves, and the religion and church we are ministers of, a jest and mockery to these prophane wretches. But the highest degree of madness is, for some of us, to court the favour of these very men to support us against our bishops, and lay open their character so unhandsomely before such men. Certainly the affairs of the church are safer in the hands of the most tyrannical bishops, than of them who are enemies to all religion: Neither are the presbyters like to find any extraordinary redress from them, who look upon the whole function to be impostors alike.

It is no excuse to say, that this freedom taken with the bishops is but by way of reprisal, to be even with a writer on the bishops side, who took as great a freedom with the inferior clergy. I must confess that I, for my part, and a great many other indifferent persons, never liked that part of that writer's book; and I think his cause had not been the worse, if it had been spared. But let him answer for that ——Now as these reproaches did not proceed from the bishops, so this is the unjustest way of retaliation, to make them suffer for the faults of others; or, if the bishops had any share in promoting them, our holy

religion has taught us a better lesson, than to "return evil for evil." If one part of the clergy have been falsely traduced, we should be cautious how we involve the remaining part under the same imputation. What sad events will follow upon the keenness of these disputes God alone knows; but this I am sure of, that, between this writer and his answerer, the church of England has suffered more in her reputation than will easily be retrieved: For the bishops are represented in such a dress by the one, and the presbyters by the other, that it wants only the hand of a Sanders or a Parsons to put them both together; and then out comes such a picture of the English reformation, as will make us all curse these unhappy disputes which have brought such shame upon us.

V. If these considerations be not of weight enough to make us leave off this prevailing custom of aspersing our bishops, I shall add one more, and that is our oath of canonical obedience. Now we all know what canonical obedience is, viz. all that respect and submission, which the canons require to be paid to our diocesans. An injurious accuser of a bishop is by the canons to have a perpetual brand of infamy fixed upon him, and to be excommunicated: An obedience is to be paid them "in omnibus licitis & honestis, &c." Now I cannot tell how to reconcile an ignominious treatment and bespattering their character with the ecclesiastical precepts which we swear to. Our guilt must needs stare some of us in the face, when we reflect upon this; as having taken no more care to discharge these obligations which we have so sacredly engaged to perform. This were a grievous crime, though there were sufficient ground for these clamours against our diocesans, especially to do it in the way that is generally practised; but, when there is so little foundation for these heavy imputations, I conceive it to be such an aggravation of the fault, as we can never be easy under, when we seriously lay it to heart. And, therefore, in the remaining part of this letter, I shall set myself to vindicate our present bench of bishops from these aspersions, which either by unthinking, or designing men, have of late so plentifully been thrown upon them.

VI. One fault, which is mightily laid to their charge, is, their being of latitudinarian principles as they are called, that is, no hearty friends to our ecclesiastical constitution, but are rather inclined to the dissenters tenets, and endeavour by all means to bring the church to the conventicle level; and that it is in order to this end they are so very fond of setting a comprehension on foot, thereby to destroy our present church establishment and discipline, and set up something else which likes them better. But what a ridiculous calumny is this? To think that the bishops, who enjoy so great a share in the church's revenues, should be engaged in a design of pulling it down; this would be such a degree of self-denial, that their adversaries in other cases would hardly allow them. But how do they know that these bishops have such a disliking to the ecclesiastical settlement? If men's principles are to be discovered by their words and actions, the pesent bishops have both on their side to vindicate them from this asersion. Their frequent

subscriptions to the articles, their usual discourse both in publick and private, together with their sermons, are all of them in contradiction to what is here objected. There are several of them, who have strenuously wrote in defence of our constitution; witness the cases against the dissenters, which were mostly wrote by the pens of those very men who are thus calumniated. Though, by the way, I do not find in my accounts that any great number of those who bear so hard upon the bishops, and put so much upon this head, did give any hand to this noble work; therefore methinks it is pretty strange, that the present bishops should commence fanaticks for writing so bravely against the schism, and others should be the only church of England men for being silent under it. As for the matters of alteration which were on foot about a dozen years ago, these present bishops are not more to be blamed for them, than those other bishops who declared to the late king James, that they would be willing to come to such a temper, as that all differences in religion, as far as possible, might be composed among us. This was not thought such an offence, when the resolution was first made, and therefore why are they so much to be blamed for endeavouring afterwards to make their words good? The unlucky disputes, which then happened, run up men's bloods so high, and frightened them with such misapprehensions of some strange designs upon the church in that affair, that those bishops, who appeared in behalf of that project, could hardly recover the hearty affections of their clergy ever since. And, if we consider the loud clamours which have been raised against some of their lordships about this business, one could not think but that they were contriving at that time the very unhinging of our whole constitution. And yet I am fully assured, that all, that was then designed, was no more than the changing a few apochryphal lessons for canonical scripture; appointing the new translation of the Psalms for singing and reading in lieu of the old; making all the collects agree more with the epistles and gospels, as was begun, though abruptly left off by the commissioners at the Savoy, in 1662, and changing an exceptionable passage or two in the other services. I could wish their lordships would be so just to themselves as to publish the resolutions of the committee in Jerusalem chamber; and then I am persuaded, that we should all be of opinion that their lordships are so far from meriting the reproach, which is for that reason thrown upon them, that they would appear to deserve the highest commendation. And, since people have grown cool upon that matter, I hardly find any sensible man, who pretends to find more fault now, than ill timing of that design. But, by the way, is it not a little hard, that we should bear a perpetual enmity to our bishops for the ill timing of an action? Nay, this was no more than what was before designed in the Comprehension bill in the lords house, which was liked well enough by some of those persons who appeared so keenly, against the commission, and the treating of that affair in convocation, afterwards; though, upon what reason, they changed their opinion, I pretend not to secret history enough to understand; unless they began to dislike it, because some other persons, besides themselves, came to take a part in the doing it.

VII. Another misapprehension of their lordships actions, and which the generality of people, at present, seem to be the most incurably possessed with, is, concerning their voting in parliament, always, as it is said, on the government's side; whereby, it is pretended, they give occasion to suspect, that they are not always led by impartial considerations; but exert their zeal in that interest, which is best able to reward them with higher preferments. This, I know, is a terrible cry, among the atheists and jacobites, and some other unthinking people, who have the wit to be made tools to their designs; which are by weakening the king's interest, and bespattering all men of high station in the church, to compass the glorious end, they are pursuing, of irreligion and slavery. But this imputation, false and scandalous as it is, carries a compliment with it, which the objectors did not design, when they say, that the bishops vote always on the court side. And I will assure you, this very virtue of constancy deserves, in this age, no small commendation; for we have seen some others, who are not bishops, to have changed sides, two or three times, since his majesty's accession to the crown, who never were against the king's affairs, when any thing was to be got by them; and always against them, when nothing was to be lost by the opposition. But, why is it such a crime to vote on the king's side? His affairs are not the more unjust, because he has the happiness to be able to reward the assisters of them. Nay, I am confident, though it was out of the king's power to shew any further marks of favour, upon any of the present bishops, who are hereby calumniated; the king would not have much fewer votes, from that venerable bench, than he has. There is nobody doubts, but that the archbishop of Canterbury is as hearty in the king's interest, and gives his vote as frequently on his side, as any of his comprovincials; and yet, I dare say, he has no hopes of a translation, on this side heaven. And why should we not expect a like sincerity from the rest? Methinks, their bare gratitude to the king, for being advanced by him, should sooner engage them to his majesty's interest, than to side with some ambitious and disobliged men, who are known enemies both to the king, and them too. But there is a higher motive, which, I am persuaded, the bishops are swayed by, in giving their suffrages in parliament; and that is, to support the present government, on which all our liberties and religion depend. And, let me tell you, Sir, for all the talk of thoughtless and intriguing men, the bishops have had their share, and have gone a good way, in the securing it. In the midst of warm disputes, they have held such a temper and moderation, and acted with such a steady resolution, for the support of the government, that future ages will be bound to bless their memory for it. Therefore, upon the whole, it can be no fault in the bishops to give their votes, with regard to the king's interest; unless it can be proved, that the king has any interest separate from the church and nation; which he is so far from appearing ever to have had, that he has all along, under God, been the greatest preserver of both. But if it should please God, that this, or any other king, should ever pursue methods contrary to the good of these: I do verily believe, no temporal expectations will engage men, of their good-

ness and sincerity, to act any thing in compliance with them, that may be inconsistent with their honour and conscience.

VIII. Another matter there is, which we of the gown do chiefly quarrel with our bishops for; and that is, their hindering the clergy to act in convocation, for eight, or ten years together; and when at last, after a great deal of baiting, they were wearied into a concession for their sitting, they were pleased to trump up a right of adjournment of the lower house, to all times, and upon all occasions; whereby, the whole end of their meeting is utterly defeated. But I have some reason to be of opinion, that our grounds do not a little fail us, when we suppose, that this long intermission of a convocation did proceed from any arbitrary resolution of the bishops; for it is not improbable to think, that this whole affair was adjusted, by wise and mature deliberation, without any mixture of private pique and resentment, and that all due regard was had to the case and welfare, both of church and state. The nation had been afflicted by a long and expensive war, which afforded neither leisure, nor sufficient maintenance for the clergy, to stay long off from their cures in a synodical attendance. Neither was it so proper to venture, then, upon any warm ecclesiastical disputes, which do usually attend such meetings; at a time, when contests in the state had raised men's bloods but too high already. Afterwards, since the end of the war, upon the seeming desire of the generality of the clergy, that a convocation should meet, they accordingly did, had several sessions, and were going upon very commendable business in both houses. But alas! these noble designs were blasted by a dispute, which arose about the right of adjournments; which the members of the lower house were prompted to claim, having found something, in a dark part of history, and in registers, then not so exactly scanned, which seemed to make in some measure for them. How far these few instances of adjournment against those multitudes, which are produced on the archbishop's side, will maintain a right: I leave those, who understand these matters better than myself, to judge. But, if the lower house have a right of adjourning themselves, it is a power, which their predecessors have thought fit very seldom to claim; it is not pretended more than two or three times, in almost as many centuries; and why should the clergy, in our times, set such a value upon a right, which our forefathers did hardly think worth the claiming in theirs? It is sufficient to remove a bar, against their right, to have claimed it, and put themselves, for once, in an actual possession of it, and so to leave the nice dispute of it, till better times; or, if no more be said of it in our times, they are so far from betraying a right, which our forefathers have bequeathed us, as it is said by some, that the last convocation did as much in that affair, as can be pretended, any of our forefathers did. In short, there is no doubt, but that the convocation may sit and act, if they please, for all the archbishop's power of adjourning, and the king's right of license, upon humble desire thereof; for neither of them both have ever given any occasion to suspect, that they will be at any time wanting to hearken to any proposals, that may be for the good of their church and people. And, when the necessity of a convocation,

in the present conjuncture, as we all of us confess, does press us so hard, it is not worth while to dispute from what authority the power of their acting or their adjournments do proceed. The lamentable growth of irreligion, the abuses in spiritual courts, and the very low ebb of all ecclesiastical authority, do call aloud for synodical meetings, to consider, with the utmost wisdom and application, for speedy remedies to such growing evils. These matters require an immediate redress, whilst those other questions will keep cold, to a more convenient season. Now since the archbishop had been so long in possession of the right of adjournment, and his comprovincials have some reason to believe that the lower house, by assuming this privilege, do prepare a way to an equality with their order, and to be a co-ordinate power with them, they cannot be blamed for asserting their own, and their metropolitan's dignity; and are less I think to be accused for hindering the advantages of a synod, because all the advantages, which a synod can pretend to confer, may, upon the ancient accustomed way of application to superiors, be obtained, without the insisting upon these claims. When the lower house shall desire to meet upon intermediate days for dispatch of business, and a license, by humble petition asked for, to frame ecclesiastical laws, and these requests shall not be gratified; it is time to begin a clamour then, when more reason is given to think it deserved, than now there has been. Power, I know, is a sweet thing; and those, who hope to have a share in it, are wont to contend eagerly for it; and therefore it is no wonder, that, for this reason, the controversy is carried on, with some warmth, on both sides; but, when common danger does on every side threaten, prophaneness and irreligion at home, and popery and slavery from abroad, I hope, we shall follow the example of the gallant old Romans, who left off their squabbles among themselves, whenever they were attacked by their enemies, and never resumed their contests, till they were sure, that all was so safe from without, that a little scolding at home could not hurt them.

IX. The last prejudice which is advanced against our present bishops, and handed about to the detriment of their character, is their interesting themselves in elections to parliament, and appearing, as is suggested, for fanaticks and whigs, in opposition to those who are true sons of the church, and well grounded in their principles too, in relation to the monarchial government of the nation.

But why, I pray, have not the bishops as good a plea to exert their interest in their country to serve their friends, as any of the lay lords to assist theirs? And, if there be any thing in this objection, it arraigns the whole house of lords, as well as the bench of the bishops. The bishops have frequent occasion to make use of the authority and friendship of many of their neighbouring gentry, for the redressing hardships, which are too frequently thrown upon some of their clergy, and for their bestowing preferments upon others whose merits deserve further encouragements. And can any bishop handsomely refuse to obtain a few votes from some of his dependants for a person, to whom he stands obliged for services both to the church and himself? Why should the bishops, of all the men in the nation, be abridged the privileges of serving their friends upon such a publick occasion? Shall every petty

freeholder, and some who have no property at all, be allowed to canvas about for any one they have a fancy for, and must not the bishops, who have so large estates, and so much greater prudence to judge of the fitness of a choice, be tied up from assisting a person of merit in his competition? But the persons they appear for are whigs and fanaticks. And this is all vile calumny. I do not think there can be an instance given, in the whole nation, of a bishop's appearing for any gentleman, but who is an habitual member of the church of England. They have never opposed any gentleman's interest, but who has been of known, or, at least, suspected disaffection to the government; and to endeavour to keep out such, in this juncture of affairs, can need no apology. Every hearty lover of the King and our present constitution is a whig and fanatick to the jacobites; and this is all the title they have to those ill names, which their enemies so unkindly bestow upon them. Now, though the common people are frequently imposed upon by such slanderous characters, the bishops have sagacity enough to penetrate through the artifices of malice; and cannot think it just, that the nation should be deprived of the assistance of a member of worth and fidelity, for the sake of a few bespattering reflexions without any ground.

X. And now having, I think, sufficiently vindicated our present bishops against these imputations, by which some have endeavoured to sully their character, I beg leave to say something farther to engage our hearty love and esteem for them; and to let you understand that we have reason to bless God for raising up amongst us such excellent fathers in the church, that do so eminently adorn the high station they are in, by all the good qualifications which are desirable for that calling. For, as to their life and conversation, those, that are most calumniated amongst them, have nothing that can be objected to them upon this account; they having all along led lives of the greatest circumspection and exactness, and shewn forth shining examples of sobriety, meekness, and charity. Neither is their learning inferior to that of the bishops of the last age, and the books, which they have wrote, have such a vein of reasoning, and a calmness, running through them, as is superior to that of their predecessors. That humility, which adorns the life of every Christian, renders theirs illustrious; for I will defy the memory of the present age, or the annals of the former, to shew such a set of men, so famous for their personal qualifications, and raised to such an eminency of station, that have shewed such an obliging familiarity to those below them, as these bishops have done. This, next to the grace of God, is owing, I believe, to the long and painful discharge of their labours, in their parishes, before their promotion: being thereby freed from that high kind of deportment, which some of their predecessors have been charged with; who, having lived mostly in the grandeur of a cathedraical dignity, were trained up to a superiority over their rural brethren, which they did not, to be sure, forget, as their honour increased upon them. Nay, I will venture to say, That, when it shall please God to take to himself these good men, whom some of us do so disesteem, it will not be easy to find a great many amongst us, who will fill those places as well as they have done.

Then what a pity is it, that they who are possessed of so much personal worth, and so much obliging condescension, should find so unkind returns from many of their own clergy? This can proceed only from a fore-conceived prejudice and misapprehension of their true character, which arises not from any just ground, but, from being engaged in a party, and, for that reason, unadvisedly believing all that is said in their disparagement. If this unhandsome and ungodly custom do not stop in good time, God knows whither it will at last carry us. The ancient heresies and schisms, which so sadly pestered the primitive church, had their original from presbyters quarrelling with their bishops. This gave a rise to the heresies of Arius and Novatianus, and to the schism of the Donatists. But I hope, the good God will afford us more grace and wisdom than to let matters run so far. I do not think this humour to be spread so very wide as to affect any great part of our clergy; the far greater number I am persuaded do stick fast to their ancient principles and duty, and have never ceased to pay that love and respect to their diocesans, which our forefathers were so hearty in: and that ill example, which some disobliged persons have set, will, I hope, be so far from being copied, that they themselves will see their error, and be sorry for it.

But I would not have you mistake me, as if I charged these faults upon the lower house of convocation, in their disputes with the bishops; for though, I confess, I cannot go into opinion with them in all they have advanced, yet they, as acting in a synodical authority, have a privilege to remonstrate upon any grievances they think to be hard upon them, without breach of their duty to superiors. Or, if rules of decency be sometimes transgressed, the warmth of the disputes, they may be engaged in, goes a good way in alleviation. But my business is to silence, if I could, the reflecting talk of those, who reproach the bishops without doors; which, though they were of the house, they have no synodical privilege to excuse them for. For every presbyter then is upon the level with you and me, and owe as much duty and regard to their respective bishops. But I am afraid, there are the greatest number of tongues running upon this theme, that have had no share in these disputes, but what they have been pleased to take to themselves, without being called to it. And I think it is time for all, who have nothing to do in these matters, to be quiet, when the chief managers of the lower house controversy, and all the worthy members of the body now met, seem inclined to peace, and the ancient good correspondence. Now these, I think, we may both of us, as occasion shall offer, put in mind of their duty, without assuming an authority which does not belong to us. For brotherly admonition is a common duty of Christianity; and therefore, to be sure, does not lie out of our way, that have the honour to take a share in the ministerial function. For, if you take seasonable opportunities to speak calmly upon these heads, or others, which yourself may suggest, where you shall find need, I doubt not, but in time, and with God's blessing, your discourse will have its desired effect in the neighbourhood; and, if others would take upon them to do the like elsewhere in the nation, I am persuaded we

should all grow into a good humour once again, and love our bishops as we have done formerly. Thus, recommending you to the divine protection, and praying for good success in the attempt you shall make in the kind I advise, or any other good work of your calling,

I am your faithful friend,

and brother in Christ, &c.

AN ACCOUNT

OF

THE ORIGINAL OF WRITING AND PAPER,

Out of a Book, intitled, La Libraria Vaticana,

Written by Mutio Pansa, Keeper of the said Library.

Printed at Rome. Quarto, containing thirty pages.

1st, Of the Use of Books, and Invention of Letters.

DISCOURSE I.

THAT the use of books and libraries is very ancient, appears by many authors, both Christian and heathen, from whom it may in some measure be gathered, that they have been in use ever since the world began; for we read, that Jude the Apostle, in one of his epistles quotes the book of Enoch, which was before the flood. (The words of the epistle are: 'And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, &c.' So that here is a prophecy, but nothing expresly of a book of his writing, whence a debate may arise, whether this prophecy was not left by oral tradition, without more positive proof; but to return to our author.) And tho' authors differ very much concerning the invention of letters, of which afterwards books were composed; yet we take it for granted, that they were invented by Adam, his sons, and grandsons, in the first age of the world, before the flood, and were after preserved by Noah and his progeny, till they came to Abraham, and so to Moses; and of this opinion was St. Augustin, lib. xv. de Civitate Dei, and Josephus, a Jewish writer of great credit, who, in

the first book of his antiquities, writes, That Adam's grandsons, the sons of Seth, erected two pillars, the one of stone and the other of brick, on which they left written, and engraved, all the arts discovered by them, and he affirms he saw one of the pillars in Syria; from the which, I am of opinion, the Egyptians afterwards learnt the way of writing, and expressing their mysteries with those characters called hieroglyphicks, on several obelisks, wherein Egypt formerly so much abounded, that some of them are still to be seen in Rome, whither they were transported by the first Emperors. This is the more credible, because we read, that Adam was by God created in so great a state of perfection, of knowledge, and of wisdom, that he gave names to all things, according to their nature and qualities; and that none ever so well understood the revolutions of the heavens, the motions of the stars and planets, and so thoroughly knew the nature of herbs, plants, animals, and all other things in the world, as he did. It is therefore to be believed, that he found out the method for preserving the memory hereof to posterity. Pliny, in his Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. ult. confirms this opinion; for there, after delivering the sentiments of many concerning the invention of letters, as that some pretend they were invented in Syria by the Assyrians, and others in Egypt by Mercury; that they were brought into Italy by the Pelasgi, and into Greece by the Phœnicians, and Cadmus their leader; that Palamedes, during the Trojan war, added four more; he concludes, it is his opinion, that letters were eternal, which is almost the same, as to say they began with the world. Hence it follows, that their opinion is vain, who say the Egyptians were the inventors of letters and arts, as Diodorus Siculus holds lib. i. where he says, that Mercury found them out in Egypt; though, in his fourth book, he writes, that others think the Æthiopians had letters before, and the Egyptians from them. Hence we may further infer, that Moses was not the first inventor of letters, as some Jews and Christians affirm, because he was ancienter than any one of those by whom they are said to have been first found; as Cadmus, who lived in the days when Othoniel governed Israel, which was forty-seven years after the written law was given to Moses; and therefore the Egyptians learnt the letters of him, and they communicated them to the Phœnicians, whence Cadmus carried them into Greece. True it is, that Attabanus and Eupolemus, heathen authors, say, that Moses was by the Egyptians called Mercury, and the same that taught them letters. Thus, we see, the invention of letters was ancienter than Philo the Jew believes it, who says, that Abraham first found them; for, as has been said, they were in being even in the days of Adam and his children, and afterwards preserved by Noah, who was a man of learning and letters, and it is to be believed that he saved them with him in the ark; though, after the confusion of tongues at the tower of Babel, most nations might lose the letters, and the knowledge of them might only remain in the family of Heber, from whom the Hebrews afterwards descended, who lost not their first language, as St. Augustin, Eusebius, and most learned men of our time affirm. Philo, and the rest, who thought that Moses had been the inventor of letters, were the more easily deceived, because it is manifest, that the books and history writ by Moses are the

ancientest in the world, or than the wisdom of the Egyptians, or the philosophy of the Greeks, as is made out by St. Augustin and Josephus writing against Appion the grammarian, as also by Eusebius and Justin Martyr: And that there were letters before Moses is visible, because we find it written, that he learnt in Egypt unto Pharoah the arts and wisdom of the Egyptians; nor do I know how this could be, unless they had letters before, though, it is true, we know they had some characters called hieroglyphicks, by which they taught most of their sciences. Howsoever it was, the invention of letters is certainly divine, as being those that preserve and secure all other invention, for without them none can subsist; and they are of such worth, that they make men immortal, rendering those things present which happened a thousand years ago, and joining those which are distant, communicating them, as if they were not asunder. By them are known and learnt all sorts of sciences, teaching those in being all that past ages knew, and preserving for posterity all that those now living found out. In short, the benefit of them is almost infinite and inexpressible, and therefore their invention may deservedly be called rather divine than human. What order was observed in the characters of ancient times, methinks is not to be sought after, as depending on the will and pleasure of the inventor; as we daily see is done by those who frame cyphers or characters, and other sorts of common letters, who observe no order. It is true they were, in process of time, for the more distinction, put into that order we now see them: And, because many afterwards successively added other letters, or made new characters, therefore many were thought the inventors of them; of whom we shall speak to purpose hereafter, when we come to discourse of the pictures in the Vatican library, among which are those, of all such as were famous in the world for the invention of letters, or for adding any to them.

Of the Paper of the Ancients, of the Papyrus of the Romans, of the several sorts of it, and of the Paper of our Times.

DISCOURSE II.

HAVING hitherto discoursed of the letters, it will now be convenient to say something of paper, as the matter on which they are made; and, to speak the truth, it is no small difficulty to decide what they writ on in former ages, because we have no account in history what they did write on before the flood, but what we said before, that Adam's grandchildren, the sons of Seth, writ an account of arts on those two pillars abovementioned. After the flood, all authors agree that men had no paper, but writ on the leaves of palm trees, whence, to this

day, those of books are called leaves. Next they writ on the fine bark of trees, and particularly on that sort which slips off easiest; such as the elder, the plane, the ash, and the elm; and these were the inward films, which grow between the bark and the wood, which, being curiously taken off, were joined together, and books made of them; and, because this film in Latin is called liber, thence the same name was given to a book, though now they are not made of that substance. The wit of man, which still improved, after this found out a way of writing on the thinnest sheets of lead, of which private people made books and pillars. Next, the ancients found the way of writing on linnen-cloths slicked and waxed, on which they writ, not with a pen, but with a small cane or reed, as some write to this day. And, as Pliny tells us, we find in Homer, that these waxed cloths were used before the time of the Trojans; and Mutianus, who, as he writes himself, was thrice consul, that, when he was president in Lycia, he read there, in a temple, a letter writ on one of these cloths by Sarpedon, king of Lycia, then at Troy, where he assisted Priam in his war against the Greeks, and was at last killed by Patroclus. In process of time, the method was found out of writing on parchment made of sheep-skins, mentioned by Herodotus, lib. vii. the invention whereof Varro assigns to the people of Pergamus, a city in Asia, on the banks of the river Caicus, whereof Eumenes was king, and from that city it was called Pergamenum, which we have corrupted to parchment. Pliny says, this Eumenes first sent it to Rome; but Elianus says it was Attalus, king of the same country, who first sent it. Josephus, the Jew, makes the writing on parchment ancienter, and says, the books of the Jews, so much ancienter than Eumenes, and the rest of that sort, were writ upon skins; and relates, that when Eleazer, the high priest, sent the books of the holy scripture to Ptolemy by the Septuagint, to be translated out of Hebrew into Greek, king Ptolemy Philadelphus was much amazed at the fineness of those skins or parchment; so that writing on them was easier and more lasting than the ancienter use of barks and leaves of trees; and it is to be believed, this invention was not yet in Egypt, since Ptolemy wondered at it. After this, there was found a sort of paper made of a rush, or plant, called Papyrus, growing in the marshes, about the river Nile, though Pliny says there are some of them in Syria, near the river Euphrates. These rushes bear small leaves betwixt the outward rhind and the pith, which, being neatly opened with the point of a needle, and then prepared with fine flour and other ingredients, served to write on and made paper, the innermost part making the finest, and, according to the several sorts, it had several names, and was put to sundry uses; being from this rush called Papyrus, which name has continued to our days, and is given to our paper, though made of rags, because this serves for the same uses as that did. I saw one of these rushes at Rome, which was shewed me by that worthy gentleman Castor Durante, of happy memory, my master in the college, who told me it came from Egypt; and he had it from Padua, sent him by Signior Cortuso, a man excellently learned in simples, of whom he had got other more strange and rare

things, as I have several times seen myself, and particularly a sheet of this papyrus, or paper, made of that rush.

The first invention of making paper of this rush, Varro affirms, was in the days of Alexander the Great, when Alexandria was founded; but Pliny proves it was ancienter, by the books which Gn. Tarentinus found in his vineyard in a marble chest on the hill Janiculus, in which were also the bones of Numa Pompilius. These books were of the papyrus, and it is certain that Numa Pompilius was long before Alexander. The Romans had several sorts of this paper; one of them was called hieratica, as Pliny writes, and only dedicated to religious books, which afterwards, through flattery, took Augustus's name, and was called Augustana, as the second sort from his wife Livia was called Liviana, as among us there is now imperial and royal paper. There was another sort called Amphitheatrica, from the place where it was made, being about the amphitheatre; and the first that began to make this paper in Rome was one Fannius, who brought it to such fineness, that, whereas before it was for common use, it became equal with the best and took his name, being called Fanniana, whereas that, which was not so curiously prepared, kept its old name of Amphitheatrica; and these were the best sorts of paper in those days. Afterwards came the Saitica, so named from a city where it was made, where there was great abundance of the papyrus, and this was made of the worst part of it. There was still another sort made of the outward part next the rhind, and called Teniotica, from the place where it was made, which was sold rather by weight than by choice. Lastly, there was the Emporetica, answerable to our brown or wrapping-paper, unfit for writing, and only used to make covers for the other paper, and to wrap up goods, therefore called shop-paper. All these sorts of paper were different from one another, for the best was thirteen inches broad, the hieratica two inches less, the fanniana of ten, and the amphitheatrica two narrower; the saitica still less, and the coarse emporetica not above six. Besides, Augustus's paper was in great esteem for its whiteness, as well as its smoothness, but was so thin, it would scarce bear the pen; besides that, it sunk, and the letters appeared through it; and therefore, in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, it lost the first place, and another sort was made, from him called Claudia, which was preferred before all the others, and the Augusta was reserved for writing of imperial letters. The Livian paper kept its rank, having nothing of the first, but, in all respects, like the second. This sort of paper, made of papyrus, the Romans used a long time, on which many books were writ; and, as Pliny informs us, there were, in his times, abundance of volumes of Caius, and Tiberius Gracchus, of Cicero, of Augustus, and of Virgil.

That this paper was good and lasting, appears by what was said above of Numa's books, found in the consulship of P. Cornelius, L. F. Cethegus, M. Balbius, and Q. F. Pamphilius; and, from the reign of Numa till their time, we find there passed five-hundred and thirty-five years, it being wonderful they should last so long without rotting, especially having been all that while buried under ground. Authors dif-

fer very much about the number of these books, for some, as Livy, say, they were two, and found by Lucius Petilius; of which opinion are Lactantius and Plutarch, in the Life of Numa. Others say they were fourteen, seven of the pontifical laws, and the other seven of the precepts of Pythagorean philosophy; others say they were twelve, as Varro in his book of Antiquities. Tuditanus, lib. ii. writes, they were thirteen of Numa's decretals, yet Antia affirms, there were two Latin, one of the pontifical rites, and as many Greek of Pythagorean philosophy, and were therefore burnt by Q. Petulius the pretor. Certain it is, that the invention of paper, made of the rush papyrus, continued long among the Romans, and very many books were writ on it by several authors, as has been said above.

In the last place was found out the paper of our days, a most noble invention, which has afforded the opportunity of writing and publishing a vast quantity of books. It is made of linnen rags beaten to atoms; and it is wonderful that so mean a thing should perpetuate and immortalise the memorable actions of men. It is made in all parts of the world, and of several sorts great and small, and so white and curious, that nothing can exceed it. On this, as the most perfect, are printed so many volumes as are daily seen, laying aside the papyrus, the parchment, and all others, which gave occasion to the finding out of this in our forefathers days.

THE

CHARACTER

OF A

CERTAIN GREAT DUCHESS DECEASED,

By a certain great Poet lately deceased. MS.

BUT what are these to great Atossa's mind?
Scarce once herself, by turns all womankind.
Who with herself, or others, from her birth,
Finds all her life one warfare upon earth:
Shines in exposing knaves, or painting fools,
Yet is whate'er she hates or ridicules:

No thought advances, but her eddy brain
Whisks it about, and down it goes again.
Full sixty years, the world has been her trade,
The wisest fool that time has ever made.
From loveless youth, to unrespected age,
No passion gratify'd, except her rage:
So much the fury still out-ran the wit,
The pleasure miss'd her, and the scandal hit.
Who breaks with her, provokes revenge from hell,
But he's a bolder man, who dares be well:
Her ev'ry turn, with violence pursu'd,
Nor more a storm her hate, than gratitude.
To that each passion turns, or soon or late,
Love, if it makes her yield, must make her hate;
Superiors, death;—if equals, what a curse?
But an inferior, not dependent, worse.
Offend her, and she knows not to forgive;
Oblige her, and she'll hate you while you live.
But die, and she'll adore you,—then the bust,
And temple too,—then fall again to dust.
Last night her lord was all that's good and great,
A knave this morning, and his will a cheat.
Strange! by the means, defeated of the ends,
By spirit robb'd of power, by warmth of friends:
By wealth of followers; without one distress,
Sick of herself, thro' very selfishness:
Atossa curs'd with every granted prayer,
Childless with all her children, wants an heir;
To heirs unknown, descends th' unguarded store,
Or wanders, heaven-directed, to the poor.

The following should have been prefixed to the Declaration of Francis Throckmorton's Treasons, in Vol. i. p. 522, *and is here preserved.*

A

DISCOUERIE OF THE TREASONS

PRACTISED AND ATTEMPTED AGAINST THE

QUEENES MAIESTIE AND THE REALME,

By Francis Throckmorton,

Who was for the same arraigned and condemned in Guyld-hall, in the citie of London, the one and twentie day of May last past. 1584.

Quarto, containing twenty-eight pages.

The following narration has in part been copied both by Hollingshead and Camden, yet not without the omission of several useful and necessary particulars to illustrate this part of the English history; which may be supplied by preserving this true and genuine account, as there is sufficient reason to suppose was published by authority.

When this traytor was brought upon his tryal, he denied what he had confessed at his examination, affirming, as Stow relates, that he had invented it on purpose to avoid the rack. But, says Camden, after his condemnation, upon the evidence of his own letters to the queen of Scots, and the papers found in his coffers, he owned all, and even made a more circumstantial declaration than at first; and yet, in favour to the queen of Scots, lest such a confession should influence the people against her liberty, he again retracted and denied whatever he had confessed; to discover which prevarication, and to prevent any misapprehensions of the justice of his tryal and execution, this following true and faithful account was published.

To the Reader.

There is in this short discourse deliuered vnto thee, gentle reader, a true report of the treasons and practises of Francis Throckmorton, and his complices against the queenes maiestie and the realme; which comming to my handes by chance from a gentleman, to whom it was sent into the countrey, I haue presumed to commit the same to the print, to the ende that such as in opinion and conceite are not satisfied,

touching the matters proued against him, and the course of proceeding helde with him, might, by the sight thereof, if trueth and reason may perswade them, bee resolued of all such doubtes and scruples as haue risen by the variable reportes made of the qualitie of his offences, and the maner of dealing vsed towards him; for the better knowledge whereof, I referre thee to the declaration following, and so commit thee to God.

A letter sent from a Gentleman of Lions-Inne, to his Friend, concerning Francis Throckmorton, who was arraigned and condemned of high treason.

"SYR, with my last letters of the first of June, I sent vnto you in writing the arraignement of Francis Throckmorton, penned by a gentleman of good skill and credite, being present at the same, and, because it hath seemed vnto me, that here is some scruple in your conceite touching the sufficiencie of the euidence produced against him, I haue, for your better satisfaction, endeauoured to attaine to more particular knowledge thereof, and by the meanes of a secret friend, there is come vnto my hands a verie perfect declaration of the whole proceedings, helde by such as were in commission for the examining of him, before his triall, containing the materiall points of the treasons by him confessed; whereunto there is annexed a submission written by Francis Throckmorton to the queenes maiestie, the fourth of June, whereby he acknowledgeth that he hath vntruly and vnductifully denied his former confessions, and vnder his own hand writing hath eftsoones repeated and confessed the same confessions to be true (some fewe things onely detracted, but of no moment) which may in mine opinion remooue all matter of doubt or scruple conceiued by you or by any other of his iust condemnation. You know howe well I haue always loued the man, and delighted to converse with him in respect of the good partes, wherewith he was indued, and of the pleasant humour that for the most part did possesse him when hee came in companie of friendes, yeelding at no time (to my seeing) any shew or suspition, to haue been a dealer in matters of that qualitie; and therefore, I cannot but pitie his misfortune the more, wishing all men to make profite of his fal, and to note, that miserie and calamitie of this kinde doeth for the most part followe such as forget God, to whose protection I committe you.

Your assured friend,

Q. Z.

From Lyon's Inne,
the 15 of June, 1584.

THE TRUE COPY OF A LETTER,

SENT FROM

The most Reverend William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, to the University of Oxford, when he resigned his Office of Chancellor.

Published, by occasion of a base Libel and Forgery, that runs under this Title. And also the Answer of the University to the said Letter.

Oxford, printed by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the University, Anno Dom. 1641. Quarto, containing twelve Pages.

To my very loving Friends, the Vice-Chancellor, the Doctors, the Proctors, and the rest of the Convocation of the University of Oxford.

AFTER my hearty commendations, &c. these are to remember my love to that whole body: that love, than which never any chancellor bore greater, or with more ferventness and zeal to the publick good and happiness of that place. And I do heartily pray all, and every of you to believe me, for most true it is, that the unfortunateness of my affliction doth not trouble me for any one thing more, than that I can be no farther useful or beneficial to that place, which I so much love and honour.

I was once resolved not to resign my place of chancellor, till I saw the issue of my troubles one way or other. And this resolution I took, partly because I had no reason to desert myself, and occasion the world to think me guilty: and partly, because I have found so much love from the university, that I could not make myself willing to leave it, till some greater cause should take me off from that which I so resolved on.

That cause, if I be not much mistaken, doth now present itself: for I see the university hath great need of friends, great and daily need. I see my trial not hastened; so that I am neither able to assist your great occasions myself, nor procure friends for them; I see that, if you had another chancellor, you could not want the help which now you do. And I cannot but know that, were your love never so great to me, it must needs cool, when you see me able to give no assistance, and yet fill the place which should afford it to you. And I should hardly satisfy myself, that I love you so well as I do, if I did not further your good and happiness by all the means I can, and even by this my resignation.

The serious consideration of these things, and the foresight which I have, that I shall never be able to serve you as I have done, have prevailed with me at this time, to send the resignation of the chancellorship, to your body met in convocation. And I do hereby pray you, that it may be publickly read and accepted, the time being now most fit, that so your honourable succeeding chancellor may presently appoint an able deputy for the government according to his own judgment.

And now I do earnestly desire of you all, either to remember, or to know, that I never sought, or thought of the honour of this place to myself; and yet, that, since it was by the great favour and love of that university laid upon me, I have discharged it, by God's grace and goodness to me, with great pains and care, and, God's blessing, I humbly thank him, hath not been wanting. And I profess singly, and from my heart, if there be any good which I ought to have done to that place, and have not done it, it proceeded from want of understanding or ability, not will or affection. And though I do, for the causes aforesaid, resign this place, yet I shall serve it still with my prayers, so long as God continues my life.

And as I doubt not, but God will bless you with an honourable chancellor, and one able to do more for that place, than I have been; so I pray God, to give you a peaceable and quiet election, and to direct it to the good of this his church, and the honour and happiness of that famous university: that you may have no miss in the least of me, who, after your prayers heartily desired, now writes himself the last time,

From the Tower, June 25, 1641.

Your very loving poor Friend and Chancellor,

W. CANT.

Amplissimo et Reverendissimo Domino Gulielmo Archi-Præsuli Cantuariensi.

Reverendissime Archi-Præsul—Hoc enim solum Tibi (sic voluisti) Nomen relictum est—

Novissimæ literæ tuæ, amoris, sed & doloris, plenæ, fecerunt ut dehinc nos planè ære dirutos diruptosque profiteri debeamus. Cum effusissimo amori tuo, verbis (quod unicum nobis suppetit peculium) ut paria faceremus, nunquam sperandum fuit; nedum dolori nostro verba nos reperturos paria; ne si passis quidem eloquentiæ velis vehi, & totâ doloris prærogativâ frui liceret. Hodie verò, ut sunt tempora, ad justissimum dolorem nostrum non levis hic accessit cumulus, quòd eum in sinu premere & quasi strangulare necesse habeamus; quibus ne illud quidem tutò queri licet, in ea nos tempora incidisse, in quibus singulari

tuæ prudentiæ & erga nos amori consultissimum visum sit, nostraque quàm maximè interesse, ut Res ac Fortunas nostras à tuis segreges habeamus & sejunctas. Quanquam verò supremo Numini sic visum est, ut illud nobis beneficii loco imputandum haberes, quòd maximum beneficiorum tuorum, Teipsum, à nobis segregares, & Cancellarii munus abdicares; affectus tamen tuus erga Academiam nostram propensissimus, tum literis tuis novissimis. tum aliis frequentibus argumentis abundè testatus, dubitare nos non sinit, quin, deposito invidioso Cancellarii titulo, amantissimi Patroni affectum adhuc in sinu tuo retineas. Quamdiu Manuscripta * illa κειμήλια tua, Orientis spolia, & verè ἡλίου ἀναθήματα Bibliothecam nostram illustrabunt; quamdiu Lectura Arabica, à Te † dotata, frequentabitur; quamdiu Antiquitatis vindices simul & testes antiqua ‡ Numismata visentur; quamdiu castigatior disciplina, mores emendati, morumque Canon Statuta vigebunt; quamdiu pro studio partium bonarum Artium studia colentur; quamdiu literis honos, honori literæ erunt, Cancellarium adhuc esse Te, sentiet præsens Ætas; fuisse, postera agnoscet. Dehinc, immortalitatis securus, gloriæque tuæ superstes, diu hîc posteritati tuæ intersis; ac demum, ubi mortalitatis numeros omnes impleveris, plenus annis abeas, plenus honoribus, illis etiam quos abdicasti. Ita vovet

Dat. è Domo Convocat.
6. *Julii* 1641.

Amplitudini Tuæ omni cultûs ac ob-
servantiæ nexu devinctissima,

ACADEMIA OXON.

* MSS. Cod. plus quàm MCCC. De quibus plus quàm CCCXXX Linguis Oriental. scripti, & poulò minus C. Ling. Gr. † Salarium Professoris Ling. Arab XL. lb. Annuæ. ‡ Hebr. Græc. Roman. Famil. & Imper. Britannic.

FINIS.

Plummer and Brewis, Printers, Love-Lane, Little Eastcheap.

AN

ALPHABETICAL INDEX,

TO

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